

The Nation.

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The Week.

ON the 4th instant the Treasury called in for redemption all the outstanding 5.20 6 per cent. bonds, having been enabled to do so by the subscription of the Bank of Commerce for \$40,000,000 4 per cent. bonds at par. The Treasury then withdrew the 4 per cent. bonds which it was offering for sale; and it was a question whether refunding would not stop, although the right existed to redeem the \$194,556,300 10.40 bonds. Secretary Sherman visited New York, and had many conferences with bankers. While here he made a call (on the 9th) for \$10,000,000 of 10-40s in anticipation of sales of 4 per cent. bonds and ten-dollar certificates of deposit to be made on terms not yet decided upon. On his return to Washington, and after mature deliberation, he issued a circular (on the 16th) in which he offered for sale, at an advance of $\frac{1}{8}$ in the price ($\frac{1}{8}$ in the nominal price and $\frac{1}{8}$ in the reduction of the commission), \$150,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds and \$44,556,300 ten-dollar certificates of deposit. On the 18th instant a syndicate was formed by the First National Bank and Fisk & Hatch, and they notified the Secretary that they accepted for themselves and their associates his offer of the entire \$194,556,300 at 100 $\frac{1}{8}$ and accrued interest. On the same day other bankers sent on bids for \$39,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds. Out of this total of \$233,556,300 bids—all being $\frac{1}{8}$ higher than the price at which the Treasury was selling the bonds previous to the 4th instant—the Secretary accepted bids for only \$150,000,000 of the 4 per cent. bonds. He declined to sell the \$44,556,300 ten-dollar certificates of deposit, which are convertible into 4 per cent. bonds, until he had first offered them for sixty days to the general public. He agreed that such as remain unsold at the end of that time shall be given to the bidders of April 18. Having thus made provision for the sale of enough 4 per cents (bonds or certificates) within sixty days, he issued calls for the redemption ninety days hence of the outstanding remainder of 10.40s. The first of these calls, issued on the 18th, was for \$160,000,000, and the second, issued on the 21st, was for \$24,556,300; these, together with the call of \$10,000,000, issued on the 9th, take in all the 10.40s. It may be said, therefore, that the work of reducing the interest 1 per cent. per annum on \$194,556,300 of the public debt was accomplished in a week. The subscription of the First National Bank Syndicate in amount overshadows all others on record in this country.

As no more 4 per cent. bonds will be sold by the Treasury until more of the present debt can be refunded in 1881, the market price for the 4 per cents has advanced 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. in London and here. Money in London lends at the Stock Exchange at 1 per cent., and the best mercantile paper is discounted at 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. British consols have advanced to 99 $\frac{1}{4}$ —the highest price since 1853, when they reached 101. Here the money market has become very easy, and notwithstanding the settlement of bond contracts made in January, the reserve of the New York banks has been increased to \$9,480,000 above the legal requirement, against less than \$2,000,000 during the first week of April. The large refunding operations in United States bonds will, of course, make money extremely easy for the next seventy to ninety days, and the Stock Exchange already shows signs of becoming crazy. The stocks of the railroads running through Kansas have been particularly in speculative favor. Of these the leading one is Kansas Pacific. A controlling interest in this was a few months ago bought by Jay Gould for the benefit of the Union Pacific; he paid 12 for this interest. The stock had been advanced to 36 to 37 when the great U. S. bond operation became known; it has since bounded up to 49 $\frac{1}{4}$. This is only a sample of

the speculation going on in the "southwestern fancies." Silver bullion has been very steady in London at 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz. The bullion value here of the 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ -grain dollar at the close of the week was \$0.8391.

The "revolution" has been shorn of half its terrors during the week. On Wednesday, the 16th, Senator Beck, of Kentucky, concluded a long speech carried over from the preceding day, and being naturally somewhat exhausted by the effort, was hardly in a condition to be catechised. Mr. Hoar, however, insisted upon asking him whether he stood by or backed out from a declaration made in the closing hours of the last Congress, that the House would be justified in again refusing appropriations to carry on the Government if the President should veto the repeal of the obnoxious legislation aimed at by the Democrats. Mr. Beck, after bidding Mr. Hoar sit down with his impertinence, boldly said that if the President refused to sign the bills he would "consult with the wisest and best men of his [my] party and with good men everywhere," to see what an American senator ought to do. He denied having made any threat, but only a statement; and what he did say as a Senate conferee had reference solely to a failure of the two houses to agree, and to the probable action of the lower House, and not to his own disposition to block the wheels of Government. Mr. Hoar read over again what Mr. Beck had just read in his own vindication, and showed that it did contain the programme of the new Congress in extra session, and did predict a stoppage of supplies in case of a veto, shifting the blame of it upon the President. As the dispute went no further, Mr. Beck's real meaning may still be open to question; but his present intent to consult with wise and good men before laying low the Government proves him to be a demoralized revolutionist, from whom Mr. Hoar has nothing to fear. On Saturday, in the House, another Kentucky fire-eater, Mr. Blackburn, was shown to have said in his place: "We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute-book, which like these looked to the abridgment of the liberties of the citizen"; and then, before this was printed in the *Record*, to have inserted a qualifying phrase—"which like these were born of the passions incident to civil strife, etc." In the pamphlet edition of the same speech the weakening process was carried one stage further. Strange to say, the Republicans appeared to regard this as a kind of robbery of something to which they were entitled.

The other proceedings in Congress have not been very important. The Senate has languidly continued the discussion of the Army Bill, but has thrown no new light on the question involved. Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, incidentally told a remarkable story of President Grant's treatment of a message which he (Randolph) bore him in 1876 from Governor Hampton, whose title had just been confirmed by the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and who accordingly asked for the withdrawal of the U. S. troops. Grant's reply, "in angry tone and uncivil manner," was: "I won't withdraw the troops; I don't regard the decision of the Supreme Court; and if I had any message to send to General Hampton, it would be that his message to me is an impertinence." As a proof of the way in which a President might abuse his authority over the Army this anecdote could not be offset by naming the ridiculously small number of the troops at Columbia, or by giving their ratio to the area of South Carolina. The House refused to abolish the Southern Claims Commission or to adopt Mr. Potter's scheme of reference to the Court of Claims. It has begun the discussion of the jurors' oath section of the Legislative Bill, and has passed a bill of Mr. Stephens's to make the subsidiary coinage redeemable in lawful money in sums of twenty dollars, and legal tender for the same amount, and on Monday was flooded with upwards of a thousand new bills, whose introduction threatens an indefinite prolongation of the session.

The Assembly has determined to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Hamilton Fish, jr., to send a committee of five senators and nine members of the House to escort General Grant from San Francisco across the continent on his return from his European and Asiatic trip. In doing this New York will only be following the lead of Pennsylvania, which first proposed a similar committee for the same purpose. There seems to be no good reason why all the States should not do the same thing, and thus make the demonstration a grand national affair. As the nomination of Grant next year is the best thing that can happen for the Democrats, there is no reason, too, why there should be any distinction of party in the matter. The chief speaker in opposition at Albany was Mr. Williams, a Greenbacker, who expressed the opinion that General Grant, as President, "did not reflect credit on the office." Both the Pennsylvania and the New York committees are to serve without pay.

The Governor has removed Mr. Sidney P. Nichols, one of the Democratic members of the Police Board, and the Mayor has appointed in his place Mr. Charles F. McLean. What is to be done with the other Commissioners seems to be still undecided. Mr. McLean's appointment was a great surprise to the politicians, as they expected to see some anti-Tammany "worker" put in; while Mr. McLean is simply a member of the bar of very good standing (he has been for some years counsel to the Police Board), whose only prominence before the public, as yet, has been owing to his public services as a member of the Bar Association Committee which preferred charges against Mr. Gumbleton. As to Mr. McLean's qualifications for the position, they are yet to be shown. But it is only fair to say—and this is a great deal more than can be said for most of the selections of Police Commissioners during recent years—that the class from which it is made is a perfectly fit class from which to make selections for offices of this sort. It is indeed eminently necessary that there should be some good legal head among the commissioners, inasmuch as the whole supervision of elections is in their hands. In "Anti-Tilden circles," however, the appointment is regarded as being tantamount to a "confession" by the shameless Cooper that he is simply a tool of the indefatigable "Sammy." Mr. McLean is, it is said, a nephew of Tilden (though this, like other facts with regard to Mr. Tilden, is in dispute), and has now taken Melton's place. He is believed to have an office at 12 Wall Street, where another person, named, if we remember right, Smith, is thought to have received cipher despatches during the campaign of 1876. He also resembles Mr. Tilden in personal appearance, has a "soft, oily manner," speaks in a whisper, and altogether is an apt agent for the unscrupulous schemer of Gramercy Park. Usually, in the case of appointments of Police Commissioners in the interest of reform, there has been a brief period during which the newspapers published flattering notices of the new men, stated what their plans for the improvement of the health and order of the city were, and cheered them on in their good work. It was not till some time had elapsed that their true character was discovered and exposed. But we live in exciting times now, and have to make up our minds quickly. Mr. McLean must congratulate himself already on knowing the worst. He may remain in the Board for ten years, and clean the streets every day with his own hands; but his character is gone.

His plan for regulating the practice of legislative counsel, which we called attention last week, is advocated by him as a means of preventing the danger of the Legislature passing general laws to meet particular cases. A case of this sort has come to light within the past week—a resident, we believe, of this city—married for his honeymoon was over found, as many would say, before, that there was not that absolute freedom in married that there is in single life. He got on well together, and finally she procured a divorce on the ground of adultery. Of course the

decree forbade him to marry again during his wife's lifetime. Some years afterwards he fell in love with another woman, and then found that a new legal marriage was out of the question. Not daunted, however, by this obstacle, he went to Albany, and, after two years' work, has succeeded in getting the Legislature to pass a law authorizing the remarriage of *any husband* divorced for adultery on his furnishing satisfactory proof that he has for a certain number of years conducted himself with propriety. That such a bill should have been signed by the Governor is, we confess, a great surprise to us. Of course it is tantamount to a general permission to husbands to marry again; for the amount of proof of good conduct that a man really anxious to marry again can procure is measured, not by the morality of his life, but by the time at his disposal and the number of his acquaintances. The divorced wife will have no sort of inducement to come forward and prevent his remarriage, and she will, in nine cases out of ten, have no evidence on the subject. In short, the law is simply calculated to encourage adultery and divorce.

General John A. Dix died on Monday, in the eighty-first year of his age, after a life of singular vicissitude and rare usefulness. He was a native of New Hampshire, son of an army officer, and entered the service himself as a mere boy during the War of 1812. His regular education, such as it was, he acquired in Montreal and in Baltimore, and when the time came to choose between a military life and civil pursuits he betook himself to the study of the law and established himself in Cooperstown, New York. He quickly found his way into political life by joining the rising fortunes of the Democratic party, became Adjutant-General of New York in 1830, Secretary of State in 1833, Representative of Albany County in 1841 and 1842, and United States Senator in 1844. In these various positions his military knowledge made his services especially valuable. He opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, but out of friendship for General Pierce supported him as a candidate for the Presidency, and, but for Southern opposition, would have had a place in his Cabinet. He received the post of Assistant United States Treasurer at New York, which he presently resigned, was appointed Postmaster of this city by President Buchanan in 1859, and finally entered the latter's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury in those anxious days of dissolution, when the head of the Government was an imbecile and his advisers engaged in betraying the Government into the hands of the Secessionists. He, with Stanton and Holt, kept their chief from recalling Anderson from Sumter to Moultrie, and his were the stirring instructions to the Treasury Agent at New Orleans—"If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." On Mr. Lincoln's accession he re-entered the military service, was made Major-General of Volunteers, being placed in command first at Baltimore, then at Fortress Monroe, then at New York, and finally was made Minister to France, where he remained till 1869. His subsequent career is well known. He was closely associated with the attempt to redeem his adopted State from the corrupt rule of the Ring, and obtained the Governorship in 1872 with the most gratifying marks of popular favor. His administration was honest and vigorous, but left some abuses still for Mr. Tilden's peculiar genius to expose and reform. The mere record of a long life like General Dix's supplies the place of comment or eulogy.

The Supreme Court at Washington has decided the question of settlers' rights in lands granted to the Pacific railroads in favor of the railroads. The controversy turns on the meaning of the words used in the grant to the Union Pacific by Congress, providing that all lands not "sold or disposed of" by the company within three years after the completion of the road should be open to settlement like public lands, at a price not exceeding \$1.25 per acre. In the case just decided the company maintained that its lands had been otherwise "disposed of," within the meaning of the act, by a mortgage given in 1867, by means of which it raised the money to build the road. The Court holds that this is the correct view of the act;

that Congress cannot be supposed to have used words without some object; that the words "disposed of" must have some meaning beyond the word "sold," and the most natural meaning would be a disposition by mortgage for the purpose of raising money to build the road. No other mode of disposal would have been of any use, and the right to hypothecate a limited interest in the land would have been a "barren gift." "Looking at the character of the lands and their remoteness from settlements, it must have been evident enough that money could not have been raised on the credit of such a mortgage." In reply to the argument that such a disposition of public lands is repugnant to the governmental policy of guarding against monopolies of public lands, the Court say that this policy was manifestly subordinated by Congress to the more immediate and direct object of having the road constructed, and constructed with the aid of a land-grant. The decision, we take it, applies to all the Pacific railroads. Three judges dissented from the opinion; but the grounds of their dissent have not yet been published. The division of opinion justifies the position that Mr. Schurz took in the matter as Secretary of the Interior.

The news from Russia grows more and more serious. The failure of the police to cope successfully with the Nihilists, coupled with the suspicion, which grows stronger, that the police itself is more or less infected by Nihilist sympathies, has led to the issue of a ukase putting six districts, containing the largest cities in the Empire, Petersburg, Kharkov, Odessa, Moscow, Kiev, and Warsaw, under martial law. A governor-general is to be appointed for each of them, armed with more than the full powers of a general in the field. He can arrest and try by court-martial any one he pleases, on any charge he chooses to prefer, or, if he does not choose to try him, he may arrest and send him off to any place he pleases. He may take charge of all schools and colleges and suppress any newspaper or periodical, and finally may adopt any measure he may consider necessary for the preservation of order. Nothing approaching to this in severity, on the part of a sovereign towards his own countrymen in time of peace, has been witnessed since 1815, except, strange to say, in France, which permitted itself to be cut up into military districts in 1852, and governed by generals armed with powers almost as great as those bestowed on the Russian generals. But then there was in France, even in those dark days, a public opinion which Bonapartist generals could not wholly disregard. The Russian governors will act under no restraint, and it is difficult to imagine anything more terrible than the risks to which persons suspected of liberal opinions, or in any way obnoxious to the authorities, will now be exposed, even in the greatest cities in the Empire.

That the experiment is sure to fail in the long run—that is, that it will not lay the foundation of any better state of things—is quite certain. At the same time it is hard to see what the Emperor, of whose good intentions no one can doubt, is to do. He cannot yield to assassination or armed attacks on the police directed by secret societies, because this would speedily reduce the Empire to the condition of Sicily, and put all life and property at the mercy of brigands. On the other hand, a class has evidently come into existence within twenty years which cannot be handled by the Russian police as it now is, which will not submit to the brutalities and repression which were accepted as a matter of course under Nicholas, and which seems to have unlimited command of desperate agents. It looks as if either the late reforms ought not to have been attempted without representative institutions, or not attempted at all.

The difficulty of getting at the cause of the Russian troubles is very great, owing to the rigid censure of the press, and the silence, in fact, imposed upon all criticism or discontent. But one remarkable examination of the situation from the point of view of the moderate and sensible reformers, of whom there is undoubtedly a considerable party, has been made public. It consists of an ad-

dress to the Emperor by one of the Zemstvos, a kind of representative County or Provincial Board of recent establishment, and fully described by Wallace. It was signed by all the twenty members, but the President refused to transmit it or allow it to be published. It was circulated, however, in a lithographed form, a copy of which has been published by the Paris *Temps*. It says the cause of the malady which now afflicts Russian society is, (1) the inefficiency of the secondary schools and of the colleges and universities; (2) the total absence of liberty of speech and of the press; and (3) the want of respect for the law. It explains that the great reforms of the present reign have filled Russian society with new aspirations and given it a new leaven, and pushed large bodies of youth into the colleges, where they are only half-taught, and in which only *one-fifth* of their number complete their course. Both these and those who do graduate have no career open to them on coming out into the world, and can satisfy neither their intellectual nor material wants, and are in consequence filled with bitterness against society and against the Government, and throw themselves into the present mad struggle against social order. They might be met and vanquished or cured by free discussion, but this is made impossible by the censure. The friends of anarchy propagate their opinions by a clandestine press, while the friends of order have no means of reply. "Silence," they say, "which is the rule of our institutions, makes even such rudimentary institutions as the Zemstvos useless." The rapid decline of respect for the law is due to the absence of proper control in the bureaucracy, the feebleness of the courts, and the continuance of administrative punishments by the police; and with contempt for the law comes general degeneracy of morals and manners. The whole document is very interesting.

There appears to be no doubt that Prince Bismarck is to have his way in the tariff matter. The majority of the Reichstag sticks to him, and the Free-Traders confess the necessity of beginning an economical agitation among the people, which means that victory is still some distance off. He has, too, placated a good many enemies by his liberal tone with regard to Alsace-Lorraine, which he admits ought to have an autonomous government—that is, be erected into a member of the Confederation. He said some handsome things by way of excuse for those Alsatians who still mourn the French connection. The reception-address of Renan at the French Academy has excited a good deal of attention and some newspaper bitterness, even from the semi-official press in Germany, partly owing to its jubilant, triumphant strain, so different from the tone of his writing after the war, and partly to his wicked allusion to Germany as a country "whose science, pedantic in its solitude, whose literature without gaiety, whose sour politics, high society without brilliance, nobility without *esprit*, and gentlemen without politeness, and great captains without stirring speech, will not soon dethrone the old French society, so bright, so polished, so eager to please."

It has been found impossible to get the Turks to settle amicably with Greece about the new line of frontier; but Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury took quite a cheerful view of the matter on being questioned about it in the House of Lords, and said that there was nothing wonderful in Oriental negotiations lasting so long; that this was the Oriental way, and they had no doubt all would come out right in the end. The explanation the Sultan and his cabinet are said to give of the delay, on the other hand, is that the Mussulmans could not be got to understand the cession of territory to a Power with which there had been no war. They understand the surrender of portions of the soil of Islam to the superior force of an enemy, but they would be greatly excited by the spectacle of surrender to infidels who have never fired a shot. For this reason they feel it necessary to wait for the interference and even actual pressure of the great Powers. When this is brought to bear, "Ki-met" will appear on the scene, and the Mussulmans will declare that God is great, and that nobody is to blame.

STATE TAXATION.

MOST civilized countries, our own included, divide the subjects of taxation in such a manner that the national authorities are enabled to lay their hands on those sources of revenue which are easily managed and give rise to little dispute, such as customs and excise duties, stamps and other imposts which are mostly indirect, and are sometimes termed voluntary taxes, because people can avoid them by not buying or consuming the articles taxed. To the local authorities, State and municipal, are remitted all the subjects of taxation not monopolized by the central government, and these are commonly reachable only by direct assessment, coupled with the power to seize or imprison if the tax is not paid. The puzzle of the local authorities, here and elsewhere, is to assess the subjects of taxation belonging to them in such wise that each person or thing shall pay his or its fair proportion, and that none shall be driven out of the jurisdiction. Any tax, whether just or unjust in itself, which causes the property, or the person owning it, to depart the jurisdiction, defeats its object in a double sense. It not only causes a loss of the particular sum sought to be obtained, but diminishes the taxable value of all other property in the vicinage. Any tax which even tends to cause the migration of capital is *prima facie* a blundering imposition, and yet no other lesson seems so hard for American legislators to learn. The idea handed down to us from a time when the person and the property were always situated together, that each man should pay according to the amount of his property—which cannot be gainsaid from a moral point of view—has been an invincible obstacle to any rational system of taxation. It is a mischievous fallacy as applied to the conditions of modern society, but it stands on the statute-books and in State constitutions as something in the nature of an axiom which nobody is permitted to dispute.

In preparing any scheme of State taxation the first question to decide is, What are the subjects of taxation? Are they persons or things, or both? Are they persons and things situated within the jurisdiction of the taxing power, or beyond such jurisdiction, or both? Here there is great diversity of opinion, or, at all events, of practice, and the notion which seems to prevail most generally is that both persons and things are the subjects of taxation; that persons and things within the jurisdiction are preferable as subjects of taxation, but that persons and things outside the jurisdiction are to be levied upon as far as possible. Then comes the great question, What are "things"? At first blush this might seem to be tolerably easy of answer; but we find State legislatures, and even courts of justice, hotly disputing with each other upon the definition of a "thing" as a subject of taxation. A horse, a house, a piece of land, a locomotive engine, are conceded upon all hands to be "things." Is a promissory note, a share of stock in an incorporated company, a warehouse receipt, or a railroad bond a "thing," within the meaning of the phrase? Most of our legislatures say, Yes, they are things rightfully subject to taxation, separate and apart from the property, the *other things*, which they represent, and this irrespective of their geographical situation. If the owner lives here, we will tax him for the possession of these *things*, even though the *other things* represented by them are situated in California and taxed there. The pending new constitution of the latter State puts this vexed question beyond controversy, by providing that everything which is susceptible of ownership shall be subject to taxation. Thus the real estate, machinery, and tools of a mining company would be liable to taxation; the capital stock of the company, being likewise susceptible of ownership, would be liable to taxation; and the indebtedness of the company, represented by bonds or promissory notes, would also be liable to taxation. If the stock, bonds, and promissory notes were all burned in the fire, there would be no less property in the State than before. If these written or printed instruments were multiplied by ten, the property would be no greater. Therefore the proposition is to tax a certain species of property three times, or as many times as it takes different forms of subdivision and transfer. Such absurdities are

not peculiar to California; New York and Massachusetts can match them in many ingenious ways. Mr. G. H. Andrews, of this city, and Mr. William Minot, jr., of Boston, have given us tabulated statements of double and triple taxation of the same property, and of cases where A. is taxed two or three times, while B., owning the same kind of property, is taxed only once, or not at all, and all in strict accordance with law.

Nearly all the absurdities and inequalities of local taxation—and it would be impossible to enumerate them all in a single article—grow out of a primary want of definitions. There is no clear understanding, as has been shown, of what a "thing" is, in the purview of the tax-gatherer. Nor is there any clearer idea of what a person is. A person can only be taxed as a person. His income may be taxed, his profession or trade, his property, his consumption may be taxed, but as a person he can only be subjected to a personal tax; and it is agreed that all personal as well as other taxes should be uniform. There is no reason why Mr. Vanderbilt should pay a greater poll or capitation tax than anybody else. Such taxes have been generally discontinued. The tax on persons has practically ceased to be levied in the United States, or if levied at all, it is for other purposes than revenue. But the common conception of legislators is that *persons* should be taxed according to the amount of their *property*; whence the solecism arises that a person residing in Massachusetts or New York, but having no property there which the tax-collector can levy upon and sell, may be cast into prison if he refuses to pay a tax upon property situated in California, which may have been taxed or even confiscated by the authorities of the latter State. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that property lying beyond the jurisdiction of a State cannot be made the subject of taxation by the State, and has added, by way of reproof, that no adjudication ought to be necessary to establish so plain a proposition. With due deference to that high tribunal, we incline to the belief that more than one decision will be needed to break through the crust of ignorance which surrounds this subject. So long as legislators imagine that they are taxing persons when they are really taxing things, and so long as they remain in a fog as to what a "thing" really is for purposes of taxation, they will continue to assess the citizen of New York for property and dues belonging to him in Illinois.

A good deal of confusion has been imported into the subject by the never-ending dispute in reference to the taxation of mortgages. It is not right, say the tax-reformers, when you have taxed A.'s land to tax B.'s mortgage on the same land also; this is double taxation of the same property. That there is something in the nature of double taxation here has been grudgingly admitted by sundry State legislatures, and various awkward concessions have been made to correct the evil. A mortgage is one form of security for a promissory note, or other evidence of debt, differing in nowise from any other kind of security except in its mode of enforcement. A.'s indebtedness is no greater because he has given a mortgage on land to secure it than if he had given cattle, railroad shares, or a friend's endorsement. The only things to be considered are the land and the debt. If the mortgage is brought into the case as a third element, it is sure to produce confusion. Smith, Brown, and Robinson, members of the Legislature, will be sure to have three different ways of dealing with the mortgage, whereas if A. had given bank stock as security for the same debt, or if his credit had been good enough to procure the loan without security (in which case his situation as a debtor and taxpayer would be exactly the same), Smith, Brown, and Robinson would understand the situation perfectly. The State in its tax-gathering capacity has nothing to do with the forms of security by which people satisfy each other for the loan of capital. It has no more concern with mortgages than with pawnbroker's tickets; and tax-reformers make a serious mistake when they bring mortgages forward to illustrate the injustice of double taxation, because they tend to the multiplication of words and darkening of counsel.

The proper rules to be followed in any system of State and municipal taxation would seem to be—1st, to obtain as much revenue

as possible in the way of licenses from trades and occupations which, like the liquor trade, need to be repressed rather than encouraged; 2d, to tax movable things—"things" being tangible, ponderable substances, and not the written evidences and title-deeds of the same—no further than they will voluntarily consent to be taxed by remaining within the jurisdiction of the taxing power; 3d, to tax immovable things, such as houses, lands, railroads; 4th, to exempt from taxation all invisible and intangible creations whatsoever, including the claims which one man has upon another, whether that other be a citizen of the same State or of another State, or of a foreign country. There is no reason why a different set of rules should be applied to corporations. If corporations have property within the jurisdiction of the taxing power, it should be assessed in the same way and to the same extent as similar property owned by individuals. The stock of a corporation being merely the representative of its property, is not a subject of separate taxation any more than a right of inheritance or a right of dower. Demagogues are constantly bringing forward schemes to relieve the whole people from public burdens by taxing corporations. A corporation is only a community of ownership, the need of which in civilized society is so great that every facility and inducement for entering into it is offered by the state. To turn around, after persons have been thus lured into the investment of their money, and to impose excessive and differential taxes upon their capital merely because it is held in small parcels under articles of incorporation, instead of being owned in large blocks by individuals or firms under articles of partnership, is a Jeremy Diddler's trick which will not greatly advance the political fortunes of anybody who seeks to play it upon the people of this State. As regards the project to raise all the revenue required for local purposes from a tax on land, houses, and rooms, on the theory that such a tax will distribute itself equitably throughout the community, it must be said that the burden of proof to show that such a tax will distribute itself equitably is still upon the advocates of the system, and that the highest authorities on the subject, notably Mill and Fawcett, do not concede the truth of the proposition.

THE COLLEGES AND LEGISLATION.

MR. ANDREW D. WHITE, the late President of Cornell University and the new Minister to Germany, recently repeated in this city a lecture of which we have already made mention, calling attention to the need of a larger supply of men properly equipped by education for the work of legislation and administration. He pointed out the immense drafts which our system of government makes on the political capacity of the country, with its Congress, its forty-odd State and Territorial legislatures, and its enormous number of city and county councils and boards. Nowhere is there a greater amount of legislative business of one sort or another despatched every year, and nowhere is there so little preparation made for it by any sort of formal training. The result is, as everybody knows, a large amount of hasty and ill-advised law-making, and slovenly and blundering administration, the evil effects of which have to be repaired or concealed by the great energy and intelligence of the people, and the vast natural resources of the country. But it cannot be concealed that as population grows denser and the mass to be acted on by legislation grows larger, and the interests with which it has to deal become more complex, the popular energy and intelligence and the natural resources of the country will become less and less able to make up for errors and shortcomings of our rulers. We shall have to be governed more carefully, or else submit to a considerable diminution in our rate of progress and in our sense of security.

The remedy Mr. White proposes is the establishment of schools or departments of political science by our leading colleges, in which such young men as choose to make politics their occupation or their leading object of attention might get an education in political economy, in the use of statistics, in finance, in general jurisprudence, and comparative legislation. He thinks this would not only

make a much-needed addition to our supply of trained politicians, whether in public life or at the bar or in journalism, but would stop the growing separation of the colleges from the active life of the country. There is nothing in his recommendations or suggestions in which every intelligent observer of the tendencies of American politics must not heartily concur. But he, like every man who is or expects to be in public life, has been restrained by a not unnatural delicacy from mentioning some of the difficulties in the way of bringing training to bear on politics which arise out of the political system itself, but which in devising any plan of reform cannot be overlooked. Foremost among these is the elaborateness of the political machinery—or, in other words, the frequency of elections and the enormous number of the offices which have to be filled by election. It is this, even more than the want of skill or preparation on the part of legislators, which makes American legislation defective. No man, no matter what his training or capacity, has more than a certain amount of energy or working power. Under our present system of choosing men for office through primaries and conventions, and frequent elections, the best man has to expend so much of his energy in getting his place, and after he has got it, in keeping it, that he has little or none left for its proper duties. If he is very skilful in getting nominations and providing for new nominations, he is almost certain to take very little interest in serious questions, and is almost sure, by way of self-justification, to adopt the habit of sneering at scientific legislation and deriding the persons who profess it as "theorists." Our own Senator Conkling is a striking illustration of this. He is a person of considerable ability and untiring industry. No man in Washington works harder, but his time is spent not in looking after the great commercial and other interests of his State, or those of the country at large, but in keeping in good working order the machinery by which, once in every six years, he procures his re-election. It is fair to acknowledge that with less attention to this machinery he could probably hardly attain his object, and that if he did the duty which Mr. White's scheme assigns to a Senator he would have to give less, and considerably less. The reform of the civil service would no doubt greatly improve the quality of Federal legislation, by making the nominating machinery simpler and easier to work, and thus giving the legislators more time for their real duties; but even this will hardly make the public life attractive to the best political talent of the country without greater simplicity in the mode of getting into it. It is still too hard to get at the voters. Politics is, owing to the enormous labor and the peculiar kind of talent needed to manage a convention, something in the nature of a close corporation. It is reached by men of ability and training, but in the larger number of cases theirs is not the kind of ability and training which make good legislation. It is not filled by any means with men like Mr. Simon Cameron and Mr. Roscoe Conkling, but it is such men who find it easiest to get into it, and, what is of still more importance, to stay in it.

To change this state of things the mode of selecting candidates, and perhaps the mode of electing them, will have to be modified. Able men who do not possess the "managing" talent will have to be furnished with some means (such, for instance, as minority representation or the abolition of the residence qualification) of finding constituencies which the caucus in their own districts will not furnish them, before we shall ever see many real politicians—that is, men who are more interested in questions than in machinery—sitting in Congress or in our State legislatures. Such spectacles as the turning adrift of men like Mr. Hewitt, after he has acquired parliamentary experience, at the very moment when his party is in the direst need of brains, will never be prevented in any other way, and yet they are now of yearly occurrence. Two years is about as long as a really well-equipped man, who will not devote time and money to the nominating machinery, is able to stay in Congress.

Until this change is brought about, we fear no system of preparation colleges could devise would produce much fruit. Colleges, with regard to all special training, are, after all, very dependent on

the market demand. The law and medical and mining and theological schools flourish because through these schools men are prepared for callings which they are reasonably sure of being able to follow. If they were simply places in which men prepared themselves to look on at other people arguing, curing, mining, and preaching, and to produce barren criticism of them, they would attract very few students, and these not by any means men of much force or ambition. Yet a school of political science in any university at this moment would be very much in this position if it undertook to furnish a complete college course that is to take the place of all other courses of instruction, which is, we understand, what Mr. White has in his mind. It would, in other words, want the crowning attraction of practice. The graduates would, if they sought for even the humblest office in virtue of their training, be the laughing-stock of the managers; if they worked for it in the ordinary way, by active participation in the management of the nominating machine, beginning with the primaries—which is the course that is usually recommended—they would have to devote an amount of time to it which few young men can afford, and it would be a kind of work so repulsive in many of its features that it is questionable whether, except in the case of men of unusually robust temper, their collegiate training would not prove rather a hindrance than a help in it. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that it is doubtful whether at this moment collegiate training can be made to tell on public life in any way except through journalism. Here we do believe there is a field for those who wish to exert a powerful influence on public affairs in the United States, which men of wealth and education have thus far strangely neglected, and which offers immense opportunities for shaping the thought of the country.

It is a field which thus far, in spite of the great number of newspapers, has been very little worked by the kind of men whom Mr. White seeks to prepare for public life; and yet it is a field in which we feel sure they must labor a good deal before they can hope to labor in any other. So great has been their abstinence of late years from all attempts to influence public opinion on any but philanthropic questions, that they have almost, in the popular eyes, lost their right to be listened to with anything but indulgence. Whatever they have to say against existing practices has come to wear the air of "theory," which in the average politician's mouth means a plan which is incapable of execution in this world; and the list of things in politics which are only practicable in heaven is every year enlarged. There are, too, now regular strata of politicians, each considering itself truly "practical," and the one above it merely "theoretical." To the City Hall politician Conkling is a "theorist," because he makes no money out of his patronage and never calls for a "divvy." When we get down to the man who sells his vote for a quart of whiskey, we find that to him all the rest of the political world is a mass of visionaries, whose heads are filled with impracticable schemes, little suited to a plain democracy like ours, which is after all a government of "the boys."

LIBERAL PROSPECTS IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, April 8, 1879.

THE two Houses of Parliament have adjourned for the Easter recess, the Lords acting in the spirit of Charles Lamb's principle and conduct, and rising earlier to reassemble later. Ease with dignity is certainly the maxim of that august assembly, which in proportion as it does less work requires longer rest and relaxation. This is a rule of human nature—to be more tired of doing little or nothing than of the most strenuous exertions.

The Opposition retire for their Easter holidays, which in the Commons extend from the 5th to the 17th of this month and in the Lords from the 4th to the 21st, in higher spirits than they have known since Mr. Gladstone's capricious dissolution condemned them to a hopeless and almost helpless minority in both houses, and, it is fair to add, in the country. The debate and the division on the Zulu War showed a great accession of strength and confidence on the Liberal side. The Ministerialists were plainly out of heart. A series of accidents has reduced

their debating power in the House of Commons to a lower level than has been known since the ministry of Addington was the subject of Canning's merciless jibes. With the exception of Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Cross, the Cabinet in the House of Commons is without a speaker above the second or third rank; and the sense of a powerful majority behind them does not make up for the consciousness of inadequacy in debate. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Lowe are now comparatively infrequent speakers—the last is an eminently uncertain one, as the late debate showed—but their presence on the Opposition benches is a mark and symbol of oratorical and intellectual power which has its influence. The knowledge that they can and will intervene, if occasion arises, to turn the tide of debate, has the effect of a large body of reserve on the side of an enemy already more than a match for its antagonist. It is not that as a whole the Liberal party is stronger in parliamentary ability than its opponents; but the accidents or necessities or the claims to social and political recognition which have removed Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, Lord Cairns, and Lord Cranbrook to the House of Lords have left the Government naked to its enemies in the Commons. They have given it a superfluity of strength where it was not needed, and impoverished it where it was poor already. The speech with which Sir Charles Dilke opened the debate in the Commons was one of the great successes not only of this session but of the Parliament. It ranks among those decisive steps which at a critical point in his career a man makes to the front. Sir Charles Dilke's steady progress shows that with him a position gained will be a position kept. With the exception of Sir William Harcourt, no Liberal politician has advanced so rapidly as he in parliamentary reputation, and a considerable place is assured him, if he chooses to take it, in the next Liberal Government.

Talk of the next Liberal Government may seem to hopeless minds like talk of the millennium or of what will take place on the Greek Kalends. But the Opposition benches and the election agents are beginning to feel sanguine; and various combinations are tried and retried in gossip and conjecture. The fact is made much of that the vote on the Zulu debate gave the Government only its strict party majority. That wavering and fluctuating mass of undecided opinion which sways now to this side and now to that, and which turns the balance of parties in the country and in Parliament, went against the ministers. The more independent of their ordinary supporters, men like Sir Robert Peel, Sir Henry Holland, son of the celebrated physician and for many years permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Gorst, for a long time their political agent and election manager, spoke and voted against them. There was no heart in the speeches on their side, and the division lobby was filled with reluctant recruits, "whipped" into action as the Russian soldiers used to be. The ministerial majority was little more than half or two-thirds of what it ordinarily is. The financial scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not mended matters. It is sneered at as the Cocoa-paste budget, from one of the two new features which it contains. Of course, a momentary relief is felt at the fact that it does not impose fresh taxes. But behind this sentiment is the misgiving that bills are simply renewed which before long will fall due with heavier interest. To use an "Americanism" as old as Chaucer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lets things slide; and there is fear that they are going down a steep slope with great rapidity. The feeling is common to both sides, and finds expression not in debate but in familiar talk in the lobbies and other places where a safe frankness is practised. It is customary to speak of a particular House of Commons, especially when it has reached a certain term of years, as being at variance with the opinion of the country. On great critical questions this is often so. But the action of the country on the House of Commons is not confined to its votes at a general election. Public opinion tells insensibly upon it, without ostensibly affecting the party allegiance of its members. During the past four years of Lord Beaconsfield's administration the popular Conservatism and Jingoism loosened the bonds of discipline in the Liberal party. The tribe of independent Liberals flourished who delighted to speak and vote against their chiefs and with the Government, some of them undoubtedly from deliberate conviction, others carried away by the sentiment and impulse of the hour, others consciously trimming their sails to the popular gale. Now the effect of outside opinion on the House of Commons is just the reverse. It is loosening the allegiance of the Conservatives, and tempting them into the novel position of giving an independent support to the Government—that is, opposing it whenever they can find a pretext for doing so. On the other hand, the Liberal party is being knitted together. The party managers are confronting the possibility that the next general election may return a Liberal majority to the House

of Commons. At the very least, it is likely seriously to diminish the Conservative majority. What is probable is, that parties will be so nearly balanced as to make government either by a Liberal or a Conservative administration difficult. The new Parliament, if it is of this character, will probably be a short-lived one, and may be followed by another of a more decided party character. The alternations of sentiment, the desire for action after repose, the maturing of opinion on controverted questions, and inevitable growth of abuses needing correction, make it probable that the next Parliament may be indecisively Conservative or Liberal, and that its successor will be decisively Liberal. Another element in the changes of party and opinion needs to be taken into account. Prolonged prosperity has a tendency to make men Conservative and apathetic. The financial and commercial successes of Mr. Gladstone's government, paradox as the thing may seem, did something to weaken its hold on the country. Distress and impoverishment help to make men radical. The industrial depression which has been simultaneous with Lord Beaconsfield's administration contributes of itself to a Liberal revival.

Whenever the future of the Liberal party and the possibility of a Liberal administration are considered, two questions present themselves, which are really different sides of one and the same question. The first is: What will Mr. Gladstone do? The second is: What is to be done with Mr. Gladstone? The former is asked with a certain eager curiosity and hopefulness by the Liberal rank and file in the country; the latter with considerable perplexity and searching of heart by Mr. Gladstone's old colleagues in the two Houses. It is probable that Mr. Gladstone himself would find it impossible to answer the first question. It is certain that until he has done so no one can answer the second. It will be very difficult to do anything with Mr. Gladstone which Mr. Gladstone does not choose to have done to him. So long as he remains in political life, from which he shows no signs of a disposition to retire, no Liberal administration can be formed with any chance of continuing of which he is not a member, and he could not conveniently be a member of any Liberal administration in any other character than in that of its ostensible as well as its real chief. The confidence of the country and of the House of Commons in the Liberal party is confidence in Mr. Gladstone. The terms in which his candidature for Mid-Lothian have been stated both by himself and on his behalf, and the manner in which his challenge has been met by the Conservatives, show that on both sides the election will be what is called a test one. Mr. Gladstone, as he himself has stated, put himself into the hands of the Central Liberal Association, the party organization directed by Mr. Adam, the Liberal whip in the House of Commons, to determine the place and conditions of his candidature. A merely individual candidature would not have been thus disposed of. The issues of the coming contest which he has laid down are accepted through the country. The general election will turn on the question: Mr. Gladstone's policy or Lord Beaconsfield's policy? And this means, practically, Mr. Gladstone or Lord Beaconsfield? The suggestion has been thrown out that Mr. Gladstone might hold the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in an administration of which Lord Granville should be the head, and Lord Hartington the leader in the Commons. Mr. Gladstone habitually lives in considerations in which regard to titular and official precedence has no place; but finance, as Lord Beaconsfield has said, depends on policy, and large financial reforms could not be effected without the weight belonging to their author as first minister of the Crown. Great financier, too, as Mr. Gladstone is, finance is second in his mind to the moral side of politics; and it is impossible to think of him as accepting the post of mere cashier or managing clerk of a Liberal administration. It has been suggested that, as was the case with Lord Lansdowne and Lord Russell, he might accept a seat in a new Liberal cabinet without office. But practically this would mean one or other of two things: either Mr. Gladstone would be a merely ostensible member of the Cabinet, giving his name to it and nothing else—a position in which neither he nor the country would acquiesce—or he would be really the first minister without salary, office, or responsibility, an arrangement quite impracticable and barely constitutional.

No; if there is a Liberal majority in the new parliament it will be a Gladstone majority. If we are to have a Liberal administration, while Mr. Gladstone remains active in political life, it can have only one chief. Lord Granville is a man universally popular; but he is neither a great minister nor a great parliamentary leader. He is an admirable party-manager and social harmonizer. The House of Lords is a drawing-room, and Lord Granville is a drawing-room politician. Moreover, although half-a-dozen years Mr. Gladstone's junior in age, he is half-a-dozen

years Mr. Gladstone's senior physically and mentally. Lord Hartington has done his work admirably in the House of Commons; his good sense, straightforwardness, and courage are universally acknowledged; but he cannot succeed in rousing or interesting either himself or the country. In the middle of one of his speeches on a great political question he interrupted himself to yawn, amid the titters of the House of Commons. That yawn was symbolic. There can be no doubt that he would readily yield the leadership to Mr. Gladstone if the interests of the party required it. A combination which has been a good deal talked of, and which may come to pass, would give Mr. Gladstone the premiership and the leadership in the Commons; Lord Hartington a peerage, in anticipation of his succession to the dukedom of Devonshire, and the leadership in the Lords; reserving to Lord Granville high titular office, such as that of President of the Council or Lord Privy Seal, with such functions of advice and direction as belong to his experience, ability, and tact, and as were exercised in somewhat similar circumstances by such men as the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Russell. These, however, are details. What is certain is that, if the measures of a Liberal administration, when the time comes for forming one, and of a Liberal House of Commons, when it is elected, are to go to the House of Lords with an authority which will overcome resistance, the official and parliamentary leadership of Mr. Gladstone will be essential. No other man has the personal energy for this work; no other man has the popular forces at his back. The hostility of the Liberal aristocracy to him has been exaggerated. There have been a few secessions of no great importance; but the great Whig families and the old Whig officials have been true to him, and the more promising members of the younger aristocracy follow his lead. The historic houses of Bedford, Devonshire, and Argyll, old Lord Halifax and the young Lords Rosebery and Lansdowne, represent a body of political influence and promise which is upon his side. The courtier, and even court, impertinences which were lavished by George III. on the elder Pitt and the younger Fox, and by George IV. on Canning, have not altogether been spared Mr. Gladstone. But feelings of this kind in quarters of this sort do not need to be taken into account. In reckoning with and resisting them they disappear. + + +

THE FINANCES OF PARIS.

PARIS, April 4, 1879.

THE foreigner who visits Paris and enjoys its pleasures and its splendor is not often aware of the price which the citizens of Paris have to pay for the privilege of having the finest capital in Europe. I have before me the Budget of Paris for 1879; and I see among the *ordinary* expenses an item of \$20,005,956—an item inscribed perforce every year in the budget. This sum alone represents nearly half the annual expense of the city of Paris, which, in fact, now normally amounts every year to \$41,200,000. Paris looks like a shining sun surrounded by such small planets as Marseilles (of which city the annual expense is only \$2,200,000), Lyons (\$2,087,471), Bordeaux (\$1,328,626), Lille (\$926,548), Rouen (\$789,325). Then come in order of wealth or of extravagance, as you like it: Saint-Étienne (\$685,072), Havre (\$576,467), Toulouse (\$528,676), Nantes (\$362,781). Nantes begins the list of the cities whose budget is under two millions of francs (\$400,000). In the descent to one million we find Nantes, Nancy, Reims, Nice, Amiens, Angers, Toulon, Nîmes, Limoges, Versailles, Boulogne, Grenoble, Tours, Orleans, Montpellier, Rennes, Troyes, Besançon, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Caen—I have placed them in their order of wealth. You see at once what a position Paris holds. Marseilles, the queen of the Mediterranean Sea, has only a budget of eleven million francs, while Paris has all the dignity of the budget of a small kingdom, spending annually more than two hundred millions of francs. The sum of \$20,005,956 which is mentioned above represents the interest and the sinking fund of a capital of \$297,423,229, which will be repaid, if all goes well, only in 1950.

What is the origin of this stupendous debt of nearly two milliards of francs? It is to be found chiefly in the extravagance of the Second Empire and its mania for new houses and new boulevards and streets. Nero set a part of Rome on fire, and rebuilt it; perhaps his way was the cheapest. M. Haussmann destroyed with much care great quarters of Paris, and had them rebuilt. Loan after loan was emitted by Paris after 1852; the budget of Paris for 1852 was still rather modest; we had the loan of 1852, the loan of 1855, the loan of 1860, the loan of 1865, the loans of 1867 and 1868 made to the Crédit Foncier, the loan of 1869. After that date come the loans made after the two sieges of Paris, and for the liquidation of the debts contracted during the invasion and the Com-

mann. The Republican Government, however, did not think of making economies; the very men who had published the 'Comptes fantastiques d'Hausmann' (a very poor allusion to the 'Contes fantastiques d'Hoffmann'), the men who had attacked the extravagance of the Empire and denounced the method of giving labor at any price to the people, began at once to look into the papers left by M. Haussmann, and to study his plans. They saw new boulevards to cut, new squares to make. There is, I suppose, a born mason in every man; our Municipal Councillors, at any rate, seem determined to change again the face of the capital. They have cut the immense Boulevard Saint-Germain across the quiet old quarters of the left bank of the Seine; they have cut the Avenue de l'Opéra, from the new Opéra to the Théâtre-Français, across the Butte des Moulins.

Since 1871 the Municipal Council of Paris has contracted two great loans—in 1874 and in 1876; the capital which has to be repaid by the city on these loans was, on the 31st December, 1878, equal to \$77,196,600, which is equivalent to an annuity of \$3,564,019. It is calculated that the actual total annuity of the debt of Paris, which amounts to \$20,005,956, will be reduced, by the operation of the sinking fund, to \$8,948,766 in the course of thirty years. This reduction of the debt will, of course, only take place if there is no new debt incurred, which does not seem a very probable contingency, as our Municipal Council is more inclined to extravagance than to economy. The sum last named represents nearly the amount of the new taxes which were created in 1871 and in 1872; if all went well, if Paris became frugal and wished to be economical, the citizens of Paris could, therefore, throw off thirty years hence the burden which has been imposed upon them; but if our Councillors continue to walk in the footsteps of Haussmann, there is no hope of ever seeing a diminution of the annuity of the municipal debt, nor a diminution of the municipal taxes.

While the annual tax, per capita, amounts in Belgium to \$7.36, in Switzerland to \$2.86, it is equal in Paris to \$22.40; and this figure does not tell the whole story; it represents only a part of the annual contribution paid in Paris, and in Belgium there is no *octroi* (or entrance duty paid on nearly all articles of food that enter the city); in Switzerland the municipal tax is a part of the figure which I have given. In Paris you must add to the figure of \$22.40, which represents the municipal tax, a charge of \$13.33, which represents the average payment made by each French citizen to the state. Each Parisian pays therefore, in all, \$35.73. He pays twice as much for the expenses of the capital as he does for the imperial expenses. (N.B.—What I have said applies to every inhabitant, whether male or female.)

In old times, before 1852, the receipts of Paris were always somewhat larger than the expenses. The surplus was employed in public works or helped to diminish some taxes. The new economic school has found this too vulgar and too *bourgeois* (as we say), merely to apply a surplus to extraordinary expenses. "Why don't you," said the Haussmanns, "consider this surplus as the interest of a large capital, and spend this capital at once in some great works? It would be more systematic, and, in the end, as economical." It is true that the rules which apply to an individual do not apply to a community; but it seems to me to be merely because the community increases in numbers; if a community makes a loan, there will be in the course of time more individuals who will work in order to repay the capital. It is on this principle of the gradual increase of the population that you can defend the system of state loans and city loans which has become universal. We can hardly conceive at the present day a state or a city having no debt whatever. So much wisdom would seem like folly. The Parisians, however, have entered with too much ardor upon this new system of "the capitalization of the surplus." The city owes now \$397,423,229, and in order to liberate itself it has to pay, till the 25th February, 1950, reckoning the annuities and the lots (large lots are drawn in a new sort of lottery), a sum which amounts to \$921,349,259. Add if you add to this enormous sum what has been paid since the engagements were contracted, you will arrive at the still more enormous sum of \$1,091,698,306, a sum equivalent to the ransom which France had to pay to Germany after the last war.

I come now to the resources of Paris. I have shown what its expenses are; I must show how they are met. The greatest resource is the *octroi*. Originally this entrance-tax on the necessities of life had for its object only the endowment of the hospitals of Paris, but now it has become the great lever of the whole administration. It is marked on the budget of 1878 for \$25,340,620; with the *octroi* alone Paris can pay the interest on its debt. The *octroi* falls very heavily on the people. Each litre of wine (whether good or bad, cheap or dear) pays at the barrier of Paris an *octroi* duty of 23.875 centimes (nearly five cents), of which 12 centimes

are for the state and 11.875 centimes for the city. This applies to the litre when the wine is not bottled; when it is bottled, the tax rises to 50 centimes (ten cents), 30 for the benefit of the city and 20 for the state. But little wine enters Paris in bottles; it is generally only bottled inside of the barriers. A workingman who drinks on an average a litre of wine a day—and this is a very reasonable measure, as the French wines are light—pays in the course of the year \$8.66 to the city and \$8.67 to the state, which makes in all \$17.43. This he has to pay out of a salary which is often not higher than \$240 or \$300. The housekeeper who puts in the course of a week in her pot one and a half kilogrammes of butcher's meat has paid at the end of the year for 78 kilogrammes of meat the sum of \$1.81 (the *octroi* on meat is 11.605 centimes per kilogramme—about two pounds). Salt meat (what the French call *charcuterie*) pays double—22.77 centimes per kilogramme. My woman will have to pay for geese and rabbits 9 centimes per kilo. (this is the third category of game—the first and second categories, hares, pheasants, deer, etc., pay 30 to 75 centimes); butter, 16.80 centimes; eggs, 4.20 centimes per kilogramme; fish, 21.60 centimes for the second category, 40.20 for the first; common oil, 67.45 centimes (of which 15 go to the treasury); vinegar, 18 centimes per litre; salt, 6 centimes per kilogramme; beer, 15 centimes per litre; grapes, 5.76 per kilogramme. Alcoholic drinks pay at the barriers the enormous sum of \$53.20 per hectolitre (about 4½ gallons).

The *octroi* of Paris is not only levied on articles of food; there are also small duties on wood, on coal, on all sorts of burning-oils, on candles. You can hardly, in fact, do anything without unconsciously paying something to the *octroi*; you are a taxpayer whenever you eat, or drink, or warm yourself, or light a candle. This unconsciousness is the great argument always urged in the defence of the *octroi*. The *octroi* duty is merged in the price of each article. When you go to market and buy a fish or a chicken you never think of the little clerk at the barrier, in his tight green uniform, who has already levied his tax on your fish or chicken, at the dawn of day, at the time when the market people enter the barriers. Whatever may be said against the *octroi*, it must be acknowledged that we do not feel its tyranny so keenly as we feel the tyranny of the tax which we must go and pay ourselves in the collector's office, such as the personal tax, the land tax, the house tax, the tax on revenue.

The *octroi* is also paid on many articles which enter into the construction of houses and of carriages, stones, cement, plaster, marble, iron, slate, bricks, clay, woods, colors, essences, bitumen, glass; there are taxes upon hay, straw, etc. Out of a receipt of 125,398,641 francs (\$25,079,608) of the *octroi* in 1877 we can separate, 1st, what is due to the alimentation, 81 millions (eatables 26,312,510 francs, and drinks 54,639,728 francs); 2d, *octroi* on all materials of construction, 13 millions; 3d, combustibles (wood, coal, etc.), 10 millions; 4th, alcohols, 8 millions; 5th, articles for lighting, 5 millions; 6th, *octroi* on forage of horses, 4 millions. The rest amounts to about 4 millions.

Correspondence.

EMPORIA (KANSAS) BONDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As you have been willing to advertise the dishonesty which some sections of the country practise, will you please place the following on your "Black List." The city of Emporia, Lyon Co., Kansas, issued legally and correctly \$12,000 of bonds dated May 21, 1872, and paid the coupons on them for two years. In 1875 they let the coupons go by default and repudiated the whole debt without giving any reason for such a step. The amount was small, and until recently the bonds have been too scattered to have united legal action in the matter. The city is growing and in good shape financially, but, pleased with their effort of 1872, they have just voted to issue a large lot of new bonds. Will you inform the public about them?

W. R.

LOWELL, MASS., April 16, 1879.

THE McCLELLAN-PORTER DESPATCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of "Fitz-John Porter's Case" in the *Nation*, No. 720, an extract is made from General McClellan's despatch of September 1, 1862, to General Porter. As the criticism is calculated to do great injustice to those officers, I take the liberty of recalling the fact to

the mind of your readers that the despatch mentioned was sent at the earnest *personal solicitation* of Mr. Lincoln.

The interview with the President, and General McClellan's reluctance to take any action that might appear to doubt the loyalty of General Porter, or the gallantry of an army "committed to the death to a duty self-imposed," can be found in detail upon page 183, General McClellan's Report, Washington, 1864, or pages 341 and 342 of the edition of Sheldon & Co., New York, 1864. And there also can be read General Porter's telegram to General McClellan, the last line of which, for terseness and truthfulness, has few equals in modern war despatches.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of General Fitz-John Porter's case, in this week's *Nation*, it seems to me you are in error as to the part taken by General McClellan in his telegram to Porter. As you put it, this telegram was a fatal indiscretion. As I prove it in the following notes, it was a necessity arising from Pope's wilful misrepresentation to Halleck in a letter from Centreville, dated September 1, 1862.

I had dealt with this matter in my forthcoming history of Pope's campaign, and will ask you at this opportune period to give the following pages an insertion.—Yours truly,

GEO. H. GORDON.

BOSTON, 37 SEARS'S BUILDING, April 19, 1879.

"This letter was filled with meanly artful complaints against his generals, with charges of lukewarmness against his troops, with brag and bluster in behalf of himself. It was a tissue of misrepresentations. It was written to turn public censure towards worthy and brave men, that the real offender might escape. In the recent vindication of General Fitz-John Porter, Pope has been necessarily condemned. In the rapidity with which he sought safety in flight, the sincerity of his bragging letter was revealed.

"Pope began his communication by a reference to his army. Things were quiet; his men were resting, and they needed it. He was obliged to keep considerable infantry along the road: his cavalry was completely broken down; there were not five horses to a company that could raise a trot. He should attack again to-morrow, if he could: the next day certainly. Then he assailed his own troops:

"I think it my duty," he continued, "to call your attention to the dangerous conduct of many brigade and some division commanders of the forces sent here from the Peninsula. Every word and act and intention is discouraging, and calculated to break down the spirits of the men and produce disaster. One commander of a corps who was ordered to march from Manassas Junction to join me near Groveton, although he was only five miles distant, failed to get up at all—worse still, fell back to Manassas without a fight and in plain hearing, at less than three miles distance, of a furious battle which raged all day. It was only in consequence of preemptory orders that he joined me next day. One of his brigades, the brigadier-general of which professed to be looking for his division, absolutely remained all day at Centreville in plain view of the battle, and made no attempt to join. What makes the matter worse, these are both officers of the regular army, who do not hold back from ignorance or fear. Their constant talk, indulged in publicly and in promiscuous company, is that the Army of the Potomac will not fight, that they are demoralized by withdrawal from the Peninsula, etc. When such example is set by officers of high rank, the influence is very bad amongst those of subordinate stations. You have hardly an idea of the demoralization among officers of high rank in the Potomac Army, arising in all instances from personal feeling in relation to changes of commander-in-chief and others. These men are mere tools or parasites, but their example is producing, and must necessarily produce, very disastrous results. You should know these things as you alone can stop them. Its source is beyond my reach, though its effects are very perceptible and very dangerous. I am endeavoring to do all I can, and will most assuredly put them where they shall fight or run away. My advice to you—I give it with perfect freedom, as I know you will not misunderstand it—is that, in view of any satisfactory results, you draw back this army to the intrenchments in front of Washington, and set to work in that secure place to reorganize and rearrange it. You may avoid great disaster by doing so. I do not consider the matter except in a purely military light, and it is bad enough and grave enough to make some action very necessary. When there is no heart in their leaders and every disposition to hang back, much cannot be expected from the men. Please hurry forward cavalry horses to me under strong escort. I need them badly, worse than I can tell you."—[*Official Correspondence, Pope from Centreville, 8.50 A.M. September 1, 1862, to Halleck at Washington. Pope's Virginia Campaign, pp. 250, 251.*]

"This composition, so plainly acknowledging the utter incompetency of John Pope, and so plainly attempting to shirk responsibility for that incompetency, was shown to the President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln feared that these base accusations against Porter, and the baser insinuations against McClellan as the fountain source of insubordination (for these were the officers to whom Pope alluded), might not be wholly false, and he hastened to plead with General McClellan in an interview which that officer has given in substance to the world. The interview was held at the house used by Halleck for his headquarters. McClellan was directed to come there to meet the President. We can bring before us at this hour the grave, almost sad, earnestness with which Abraham Lincoln informed General McClellan that he had reason to believe that the Army of the Potomac was not cheerfully co-operating with and supporting Pope; and we can hear the President's tones of affection when, as McClellan reports him, he said, 'He had always been a friend of mine,' and asked me as a special favor to use my influence in correcting this state of things. Then followed at this interview McClellan's earnest reply that he was confident the President had been misinformed; for 'whatever sentiment,' he urged, 'the army might entertain towards Pope, they would obey his orders, support him to the fullest extent, and do their whole duty.' But the President desired McClellan to telegraph to 'Fitz-John Porter or some other of my (his) friends' and

try to do away with any feelings that might exist. That McClellan could rectify the evil and that no one else could the President believed and said, upon which General McClellan said he would telegraph to General Porter or do anything else in his power to gratify his wishes and relieve his anxiety. Abraham Lincoln then thanked McClellan very warmly, assured him that he could never forget his action in the matter, and departed. McClellan immediately sent the following telegram: it was forwarded by General Halleck:

"I ask for my sake, and that of the country, and that of the old Army of the Potomac, that you, General Porter, and all my friends, will lend the fullest and most cordial co-operation to General Pope in all the operations now going on. The destinies of our country, the honor of our army, are at stake, and all depends now upon the cheerful co-operation of all in the field. This week is the crisis of our fate. Say the same things to my friends in the Army of the Potomac, and that the last request I have to make of them is, that for their country's sake they will extend to General Pope the same support they have ever to me. 'I am in charge,' continued McClellan, 'of the defenses of Washington, and am doing all I can to render your retreat safe should that become necessary.'—[*McClellan's Report of his Interview with Abraham Lincoln and Telegram to General Porter. McClellan's Report and Campaigns, pp. 341, 2, 3, 4.*]

"Pope's letter of accusation had been potent for evil. The President was prejudiced against Porter, and this prejudice was manifest in his approval of the findings and sentence of that court-martial before which General Porter was arraigned for these grave offences which were set forth in Pope's letter, and under which he has suffered so unjustly for so many years. But the attempt to poison his mind against McClellan failed. Abraham Lincoln believed in General McClellan's patriotism and in his ability. He was his friend; and he showed his great friendship by promoting him from the expressly limited jurisdiction of the works and garrison before Alexandria, and from the expressly prohibited exercise of any authority or control over the troops actively engaged in front under Pope, to both of which he had been verbally condemned by Halleck in his personal interview at Washington, to the sole and entire command of all the combined forces which met and vanquished, on the 15th and 17th of September, the victorious Confederate army at South Mountain and at Antietam.—[*See McClellan's Reports and Campaigns, pp. 341-344.*]

"This promotion was due to the President's own act and judgment; it was made in the face of, and in despite of, the evil counsels and mischievous interferences of his War Secretary, Stanton, and his War Secretary's abettor, Halleck.—[*See 'History of Great Rebellion,' following Pope's retreat to defenses of Alexandria.*]

"It is hardly necessary to say that General Porter, in replying to McClellan's telegram, indignantly disclaimed the need of any appeal to his loyalty. He denied with much feeling that his own men required a spur to their loyalty.

"You may rest assured," he wrote, "that all your friends, as well as every lover of his country, will ever give, as they have ever given to General Pope, their cordial co-operation and constant support in the execution of all orders and plans. Our killed, wounded, and encumbered troops attest our devoted duty."—[*Fitz-John Porter from Fairfax Court-House at 10 A.M., September 2, 1862, to General George B. McClellan.*]

[We had overlooked the fact that the President suggested or asked for the McClellan telegram, and we admit that our allusion to it without any mention of its origin does General McClellan injustice. But we did not use it for the purpose of casting any imputation on him. We referred to it as one of the things which helped to strengthen the popular impression that the McClellan set in the army were not doing their duty; and that it had this effect, no matter under what circumstances it was written, we still maintain.—ED. NATION.]

OUR POLITICAL EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has become an axiom that the permanence of a popular government depends upon the intelligence of the average citizen, and we guard and foster our common schools with sufficient reason. But if the chief end of state education is the maintenance and elevation of the state, it would seem self-evident that an important element of this education should be a grounding in the rudiments of statecraft and the theory and practice of our own political system. That this has not been apparent, however, to our school boards in the past hardly needs to be said. In default of any school-training, what has been the actual teaching of our youth?

The boy comes out of school with the commonplaces afloat in the air about the blessings of liberty and the priceless nature of citizenship in our free land. If he is a thoughtful boy, it very likely seems a little thing to him that no one should want to enslave him, or should persecute him for thinking and speaking his mind and honestly obeying his conscience. No one has taught him that these seemingly simple conditions have been the slow growth of centuries, had their roots in the agony and oppression of whole peoples, and have been nurtured by untold endeavor and rivers of blood and tears. The chances are he will conclude that all such talk he hears and reads in the papers is mere cant, and be inclined at the start towards a benumbing scepticism of the sincerity of those who make such professions; and it may take him years to discover that there is genuine and well-founded devotion to free in-

stitutions among sound and wise men, and correct the false attitude taken at first, or it may never be entirely corrected.

But the average boy is merely puffed up with the vainglory of being in some uncomprehended way one of a superior and chosen people, and an ignorant contempt of foreign nations. Of the relation of the States to the Federal Government, of the functions and limitations of either or their co-ordinate branches, he knows nothing, nor of the duties and tenure of office. His next lesson, inferred from his father's party paper, is that the nation is divided into two great bodies, one of which is entirely occupied in doing and contriving evil, and is only prevented from speedily destroying the country by the vigilance of the other, which is by nature incapable of sin and continually thwarts the wicked party's open or insidious designs; and he gathers an impression that this party warfare is the greater and more important part of government, and that caucuses and conventions are component elements of the constitutional machinery, just as are elections and congresses. If any defects in the actual working of things, not directly or indirectly attributable to the sinful other party, are admitted or implied, he is pointed to the source of the trouble in the failure of honest citizens to do their duty and "attend the primaries," and he resolves to avoid that error when his own time arrives.

Meanwhile elections take place and the boy picks up a stock of learning about "work" and "claims" and "services" and the like. He learns that offices are for the reward of "workers," and that consequently they should change hands frequently in order to give all the faithful a chance and stimulate the zeal of new recruits, and that office-holders owe it especially to their party to repay its favors by devoting time and money to its support. That seems good logic, and a natural corollary is that a man is a "fraud" and a "traitor" who continues to stand when the party has put up a new candidate for his place. Much besides he hears, more or less delightfully mysterious, about "influence" and "making slates" and "healing breaches" and "selling out" and "restoring harmony."

By and by he attains to the proud privilege of the suffrage. He attends his neighborhood primary, but is surprised to see with what celerity matters seem to dispose of themselves, and of how little consequence his personal part in the affair is. Very possibly he finds the smooth working facilitated by the employment of printed ballots which some one has been at the trouble and expense of kindly providing. About this time he is getting into business and marries, and, finding cares increase, forgets all about the primaries, or runs in at the time if he remembers and can get away, but with the former result; and he generally contents himself with voting the regular ticket prepared for him, admitting upon occasion that "the good men ought to combine" and then all would be well.

But perhaps he is more curious or more ardent than most young men, and bent upon finding out the secret springs of "politics," and if he is tonguey and shrewd, and shows no signs of impracticable notions, he is very soon taken into confidence, and learns that the primary is simply a formal ratification of a division of offices arranged beforehand by a little interested clique through a process of personal solicitation, balancing of claims, pledges, and bargains, barter and sale. He learns that working for the party and to save the country means "seeing" men who are "powers," buttonholing, cajoling, treating "the boys," slapping on the back, being hail-fellow well met, and some other things rather hinted at than described. If his aptitude for these patriotic arts is genuine, he takes a hand at the game and in a few years the county papers have paragraphs about "our rising and gifted young legislator" or "enterprising sheriff."

And by that time he has learned still another lesson, that the horror of the managers at the traitorous designs of the leaders of the opposite party is not inconsistent with very friendly social and private relations, and that the trading and bargaining are not always confined within the party lines; that, in fact, a great deal of the indignant scorn heaped in public on the enemy is, like that of lawyers arguing a case, professional, and that, like them, the champions who have been shouting their slogans and hurling defiance can ignore their differences in private, or even laugh together over the amusing incidents of the encounter, and perhaps incidentally arrange a little compromise that may or may not result in the public good, but shall at any rate redound to the profit of the contracting parties.

What wonder, then, if he end where his more thoughtful schoolfellow began, in a contemptuous disbelief of the sincerity of all patriotic professions and a scoffing acquiescence in things as they are, "a belief quali-

fied with scorn in all things extant." To him any assumption of virtue in private as well as in public is simply the indication that a man is literally what in his peculiar dialect he sneeringly dubs him, "high-priced." His secret opinion of the mass of voters is, that they are a great flock of sheep that will follow the bellwether, however unsavory, wherever he leaps, if only he displays agility and is tarred with the proper stick; and it must be confessed he has some show of reason for so concluding.

Now, that is not a satisfactory result nor one agreeable to dwell upon, but it is a perfectly logical consequence of the training of which it is the outcome. And it does not seem very reasonable to expect any very great improvement in our politics until our boys are provided with some sort of preparation for the parts they are to play, and some sort of safeguard against the quackery and false pretence with which they will be beset.

W.

APRIL 11, 1879.

Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. have in press 'The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews, Translated and Critically Examined,' by M. Heilprin, a work which, while notable for its erudition, will be found eminently fresh and readable.—Henry Carey Baird announces a work on the 'Sugar Beet,' historical and practical, by Lewis S. Ware, C.E.—John Wiley & Sons have just published Part II. of Professor Charles E. Greene's 'Graphics for Engineers, Architects, and Builders.' Part I., relating to roof-trusses, was noticed in No. 610 of the *Nation* (March 8, 1877). The part now ready contains the analysis and discussion of bridge-trusses. Part III., completing the work, will relate to arches, and may be expected in the course of the year. The graphical method of treating the problems which arise in roof and bridge construction, though comparatively new, has met with general favor and acceptance wherever it has been introduced and studied; but the number of books in the English language from which a knowledge of the method can be obtained is still very small. Professor Greene's work is designed to meet the wants of builders and designers of bridges and similar structures as well as to serve as a text-book in technical schools. It is made up largely of original matter, and is written in a simple and concise style. No knowledge of the higher mathematics is required for its use.—The annual report of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station for 1878 is replete with valuable information for agriculturists everywhere. The work of the Station has not been confined to commercial fertilizers and feeding-stuffs, but has included also analyses of the sugar-beet, well-water, Paris green, white hellebore, etc. The discussion of the theory of the Stock-bridge manures; the chapter on the composition of the soil of the red sandstone of the Connecticut Valley; and the experiments on the relation of soils to water, are especially deserving of attention.—The April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is unusually strong in its own line. Dr. Osgood opens it with a biographic sketch of the late E. A. Duyckinck, whose portrait is prefixed; there is a long and minute and very interesting account of Ezekiel Cheever, an old Boston Latin-School master at the close of the seventeenth century, whose 'Accidence' had a remarkable currency (the seventh edition bearing date of 1704, the latest of 1838); an outline of the Hazen Family for four generations has a timely interest; and believers in hereditary genius will take comfort from the list of dignitaries composing the "family circle of Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold."—The *Magazine of American History* for May contains a translation of Count Axel de Fersen's letters written from America during his connection with Rochambeau, as given in Klineckowström's recent biography of the gallant Swede. A portrait of Fersen at the age of twenty-eight shows a very prepossessing face, which might well have found favor with Marie Antoinette.—With Part VI. the first of the two volumes of Dr. Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (Macmillan & Co.) is concluded, ending with the letter I. It includes the great names of Handel and Haydn, of one of whom a mask is given, of the other a silhouette, besides lesser composers such as Gung'l, Halévy, Herold, F. Hiller, Stephen Heller, etc. Notices are also devoted to Sir John Hawkins, Helmholtz, Hanslick, Henry VIII., and Herschel. Among the instruments treated of are the harp, harpsichord, horn, and hurdygurdy. The Boston Handel and Haydn Society and Harvard Musical Association are not overlooked. Miss Hauck's success as *Carmen* is recorded before it is cold. The most important theoretical article is on Harmony.—

'Egypt under Ismail Pasha,' edited by Blanchard Jerrold; 'The Samsa Rebellion,' by Augustus H. Mounsey; 'Primitive Manners and Customs,' by James A. Farrer; 'Pictures of the Past: Memories of Men I have met and Sights I have seen,' by Francis H. Grundy; and 'Caesar,' a sketch by J. A. Froude, are late English announcements.—M. Francisque Sarcely, whose 'Comédiens et Comédiennes' we reviewed last spring, has begun the publication of a second series, to contain critical studies of the actors and actresses of the Comédie-Française omitted in the first series, and of the other important dramatic artists of Paris. The first two numbers already issued are devoted to M. Worms and to Mmes. Dinah Félix and Jeanne Samary. M. Léon Gaucherel, who did all the etching for the first series, will now be assisted by M. Lalauze.

—The Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, now installed in its new building in Central Park, have issued a circular defining the shortcomings of the present collection by reference to the aims of the Trustees, which are justly comprehensive, and calling for subscriptions to the amount of \$150,000, payable when \$100,000 shall have been subscribed. Among the immediate uses for the money are the purchase of the Avery collection of porcelain, the King collection of gems, the purchase of casts, architectural models, archaeological antiquities, etc., the starting of a school of design for the arts and trades, the establishment of a system of medals or awards, and the creation of a fund for lectures on art. Subscribers who wish to favor any one of these objects rather than another will be permitted to dedicate their contributions accordingly. The Trustees point to the straitened resources of the Museum, and contrast it with the liberal support given to similar institutions in Philadelphia and Boston. We hope their appeal will not go unheeded.

—Public-spirited persons having scientific sympathies are addressed in the tenth annual report of the American Museum of Natural History, also in its new quarters on the west side of Central Park. The invaluable collection of fossils illustrating the natural history of New York State purchased of Mr. James Hall has not been fully paid for, and many specimens deposited with the privilege of purchase it is highly desirable to secure as the property of the Museum. On deposit are mentioned several thousand specimens gathered by Clarence King's Survey, and Professor Pumpelly's collections in California, China, and Japan. Some Peruvian rocks and fossils, with terra-cotta vases and figures from San Salvador and Peru, have been received from the estate of the late Dr. A. Habel; and from M. G. L. Feuardent three cases of stone and bronze implements of the Swiss lake-dwellers. The library at the Museum, including works deposited for safe keeping, embraces nearly 12,000 volumes. A heliotype view of the main hall accompanies the report.

—Beyond general indications of activity and prosperity there is little to remark in the annual report of the Astor Library for the year 1878. The most important accession was the Archives of the United States Sanitary Commission, of which the transfer was the last act of that honored organization. Mr. Astor's gifts included six MSS., from the eleventh century downwards, some of them richly illuminated; and two precious specimens of early printing, one from Gutenberg's press, the 'Catholicon' of 1460, and the other Zainer's Augsburg Bible of 1477. In addition to the comparatively recent card catalogue, the Library now publishes quarterly lists of books received, in a neat form. The capacity of the reading-rooms appears to be taxed to the utmost, and it is to be hoped that the Trustees will avail themselves at the first opportunity of a system of electric lighting in order to double the usefulness of the Library by keeping it open in the evening.

—We receive from Mr. L. W. Schmidt three numbers of 'The Classics of Painting,' which appears to be an edition in English of 'Klassiker der Malerei.' This work is announced as by Dr. P. F. Krell, of Munich, assisted by Dr. O. Eisenmann, of Cassel, the photographic prints by Martin Rommel, of Stuttgart, and the work published at Stuttgart by Paul Neff. It is one more added to the already considerable number of publications which photography and photographic engraving have made it easy to publish, but it is rather hard on the young student to be asked to receive as classical painting, or as having any intimate relations with classical painting, these reproductions of line engravings. It is perfectly well known to every lover of old pictures that the celebrated engravings after them of the famous old masters of engraving are very unlike their declared originals. It is not pretended by lovers of old engravings that they are very close copies; they are liked for their independent merit and original power. And now a collection of photographs from sixty-eight engravings by Edelinek, Metz, Rainaldi, and the like are an-

nounced as the classics of *painting*! To call it the classics of engraving would be much more nearly accurate—so far, at least, as the illustrations go. There are notices of the different painters of celebrity. The three numbers before us give short biographical and critical notices of several artists of the Tuscan school; but, of course, it is still too early to judge of the value of the book in this respect.

—*Lippincott's* for May opens with a sensible paper, "Why do We like Paris?" by Mrs. Sarah B. Wister. Mr. H. M. Robinson, who lately discoursed of dog-sledging in the Hudson's Bay Territory, now writes with equal grace of the summer phase of life there—life as it used to be rather than is—namely, the periodic canoe-journeys between Norway, in the Red River country, and York, on Hayes River, about five miles from Hudson's Bay. Here there is no brutal side to the picture, and the hardships of the *voyageur* have a rich compensation known to all who earn their familiarity with primitive Nature by the sweat of their brow. Miss Annie Porter's "My Village in the South" we have found less interesting in this third paper than in the two preceding. In "My Hero," Isabella Anderson, once a resident of Venezuela with her father, gives some reminiscences of the late General Paez, one of the most remarkable characters of modern times, and repeats some of the more marvellous incidents in his military career as heard from the lips of the General's wife. The narrative could not fail to be entertaining; but in two respects the reader might have been further enlightened. It is not made clear that Paez was a man of color; one of those who, to use the words of Gervinus, "descended from the formerly down-trodden zumbo, mulatto, or mestizo races, but now lifted up by the exalting nature of the events of time, rose to views and aims, knowledge and actions, such as we look for only amongst the most advanced classes of mankind." And reference might have been made to General Paez's autobiography, of which the first and we believe the only volume was published in this city in 1867.

—The eastern shore of the Chesapeake, which not long ago was made the subject of some capital papers in *Lippincott's*, is taken up again in *Harper's* by a writer possessed of less literary skill, but still sufficient, and having the advantage of being an artist with his pencil. Moreover, by "A Peninsular Canaan" Mr. Howard Pyle does not mean (at least not yet—perhaps we shall hear more from him) the Maryland paradise described in *Lippincott's*, but the extreme southern and therefore the Virginian end, of Northampton and Accomac counties—virgin soil, so far as we are aware, to the writers for the popular magazines. The charms of this region appear to be inferior to those of the adjoining Maryland counties; manners are ruder, the land less rich; but the ocean, bay, and inland waters are full of picturesqueness and of animal life, and the tourist in search of complete relaxation could hardly fare better elsewhere on the peninsula. Mr. Pyle has brought back a number of excellent stories which, with the pretty designs, give spice and relief to his account of his experiences. Other superabundantly illustrated papers are "The Study of Art in Boston," by G. P. Lathrop; Col. Waring's "Berg und Thal," No. 3; "The Piano and its Antecedents," by Julius Wilcox; and "Stratford-upon-Avon," by William Winter. As a literary performance, the last-named is superior to the rest, and is adorned with pencil memoranda of Mr. Abbey's sojourn in England. Mr. Lathrop conveys, to our thinking, more information than instruction; all is Art that comes to his net. He is convinced, he says, that, "below the high schools at any rate, the boys succeed better in original design than the girls do." Colonel Waring had the good fortune to meet at Dietenheim with William and Mary Howitt. "Thither we went to claim one ray of their genial sunshine before their declining day shall have set for ever." Before these words could be printed the apprehension had been realized for one of these "genial, active, and happy octogenarians." A fine portrait of the late William Howitt accompanies the text. Mr. E. P. Whipple gives a sort of *precis* of Dr. Holmes's biography of Motley, and Mr. William Blaikie discusses the "Risks of Athletic Work," arriving at the sound conclusion that they are overrated. It would have been useful to point out how small an amount of regular gymnastic exercise, such as one may readily carry on in his own room, will keep up the tone of a system which has once been braced and solidified by concentrated training.

—Stress being laid on the first fruits of *Scribner's* Brazilian expedition, it is proper to bear witness to the pictorial and literary attractiveness of Mr. Herbert H. Smith's paper on Pará. Still, while admitting the faithfulness of the descriptive portions, we must consider the writer exceeding his instructions when making political and social generalizations that imply a much longer familiarity with Brazil than an "expe-

dition" affords. Highly interesting, and only too brief and incomplete, is the opening paper by an Italian writer on "The New Museum at Rome." One is impatient that representations of the masterpieces of statuary discovered since 1870 are so slow in being made accessible to the art-loving public. The few that are shown in this number of *Scribner's* only whet the desire. There is a somewhat naïve story, by Mr. C. H. Farnham, of a day's tramp along the North and East River docks, with semi-poetic illustrations of characteristic sights and industries. Mr. Hassard writes knowingly of Wilhelmj and Reményi, and borrows from Mr. Wm. M. Chase two pen-and-ink sketches of these eminent violinists. Mr. Wyatt Eaton makes another half-success in a portrait of Dr. O. W. Holmes, for which Mr. F. H. Underwood supplies an article interesting for its personal facts in regard to the poet, but hardly to be called discriminating.

—The May number of the *Atlantic* is not remarkably excellent. Mr. C. C. Coffin contributes a vigorous optimistic article to show that the material prosperity of the world is greater now than ever before, that earnings have increased while the cost of living has relatively decreased, that pauperism and crime are on the wane, that capital and labor are "naturally helpful," that readjustments of labor are necessary, that men must conform to the laws of progress or be crushed, and that "the race is moving ever on to a higher plane of civilization." The unexpressed conclusion seems to be that men must wait with their hands in their pockets and the faith in their hearts that all will turn out right in the end. The other economic article, on "The Abolition of Poverty," describes various co-operative associations as examples to the workingmen, and urges them to try such associations for distribution before attempting associations for production. Among the literary articles an instructive account of Émile Zola's critical opinions on the Romantic School is especially valuable, for it consists mainly of translations from Zola's own letters to the St. Petersburg *Messenger of Europe*. A sketch of Colorado travel by "H. H.," a very entertaining account of Champfleury's "Le Violon de Faience," of which a fine and curious edition has lately been printed, a criticism of the decoration of Trinity Church in Boston and the Assembly Chamber at Albany, and stories and poems of average merit complete the number.

—With the last concert of the Oratorio Society, which took place in Steinway Hall on Thursday last, the regular concert season of 1878-79 may be considered to have terminated. The remaining "farewell," "testimonial," and other performances, with the exception of Mr. Wilhelmj's four soirées of chamber-music, do not call for any particular attention. The oratorio concert introduced, for the first time in this country, two parts of an oratorio, "Christus," by Friedrich Kiel. The author has been for many years professor of composition and thorough-bass at the Imperial High-School of Music in Berlin, where he is considered one of the most accomplished and learned musicians of the day. The oratorio fully justifies this reputation. It is the work of a scholar and a student, not of a man of genius or an artist. It bears evidence of the care and intelligence with which the author has studied and entered into the spirit of the works of the two greatest masters in this field, Bach and Handel. But it is a copy, a dry, soulless copy only; nothing of the genius of these two masters can be found in Kiel's highly-finished but uninteresting work. All that study and intelligence can do has been accomplished, but nothing else. The laws of counterpoint and polyphonic writing are as familiar to the author as the most rudimentary principles of his art, but of the grandeur and rich melodies of Handel, of the purity and noble simplicity of Bach, he can only produce a feeble imitation. The second part of the programme was of a miscellaneous character. A violin solo by Mr. Wilhelmj seems out of place in an oratorio concert. Mozart's "Ave Verum" in D major, one of those exquisite melodies which abound in his church music, was very fairly sung by the solo quartet, Miss Henne, Mrs. Rice-Knox, and Messrs. Graff and Stoddard. The chorale from the "Meistersinger" was, as far as the chorus was concerned, an improvement on the last performance at the sixth Symphony Concert. The air for contralto with violin obligato accompaniment from Bach's "Matthew Passion" was very fairly sung by Mrs. Rice-Knox, and the violin part was played by Mr. Wilhelmj with his usual mastery.

—The first chamber-music concert was a disappointment. Seeing Mr. Wilhelmj's name connected with these concerts we were induced to believe that something of unusual merit would be presented, or at least compositions which had seldom or never been heard here before. This, however, was not the case. The first number was a quartet by Haydn, which was exceedingly well played, but better than on former occasions

only so far as the first violinist was better than any other artist who has taken part in it here before. The adagio for two violins, by Bach, was the redeeming feature of the concert, and was admirably played by Messrs. Wilhelmj and Damrosch. Schumann's piano-forte quintet, one of the brightest and most vigorous of his compositions, every bar of which breathes youth, strength, and poetry, received a very tame and prosy rendering. The violin solo, an arrangement of the romance from Chopin's Piano-forte Concerto in E minor, lost all original character and beauty by being transposed to an instrument for which it was not intended by the composer, who could only write with effect for his own instrument—the piano. Mrs. Swift's singing of Mozart's "Voi che sapete," and of two very uninteresting songs by Mendelssohn, had no place in a concert intended for the performance of classical chamber-music.—Mr. Sherwood's first recital of piano-forte music, which took place in Steinway Hall, introduced a young artist possessed of many excellent qualities. An infallible technique, a delicate and refined touch, an intelligent and artistic conception of the works before him, ensure for Mr. Sherwood a high rank among the pianists of our day. He does not impart the character of strength and manliness that is required by such works as the Beethoven Sonata and the "Études Symphoniques" by Schumann, but he rendered the works of the modern school, such as Chopin, Liszt, and Rubinstein, with a warmth and delicacy of feeling, with a complete mastery of all difficulties, that was fully appreciated by a numerous audience, from whom he received a most gracious acknowledgment of his efforts.

—M. Saint-Saëns, next to Berlioz the most gifted and original orchestral composer France has so far produced, is now following the example of his great predecessor in making a tour through the principal cities of Germany and Austria, where he shows himself in the fourfold capacity of composer, director, pianist, and organist. His success so far has been great in every respect, although a certain class of musicians, to whom every melody is distasteful which was not sung to them in the cradle by their nurses, contrive, as in the case of Liszt and Rubinstein, to find much more to admire in his playing than in his compositions. When he came to Vienna, Dr. Hanslick of course found more or less to praise in his early and immature compositions, while the beauties of his later and more original works were not visible to the near-sighted professor. Saint-Saëns, however, did not commit suicide on this account, but consoled himself with the extraordinary success of his new opera, "Étienne Marcel," at Lyons. The production of this work at Lyons instead of Paris is a somewhat remarkable event in the history of French music, for it is the first time that a work of such importance has been performed first at a provincial theatre instead of at the capital. The way this came about was as follows: The Théâtre Lyrique no longer exists, and while the new opera was adjudged too serious for the Opéra-Comique, the Grand Opéra appears to have regarded it as too light to enter its portals—on the same principle, we suppose, that "Tannhäuser" was at first rejected at Berlin as being too lyrical and not adapted to the stage. Saint-Saëns finally lost patience and took his "Étienne Marcel" to Lyons, where, in the course of a few weeks, more than a dozen performances of it followed in rapid succession, and now the Paris critics are very jealous and indignant that a provincial city should have got such a trump into her hands. It is quite probable that Saint-Saëns's opera will follow him on his continental tour. The same happy fate will doubtless attend the "Benvenuto Cellini" of Berlioz, which, after lying in the desk so many years, has now been brought out very successfully at Hanover, owing to the commendable efforts of Von Bülow. It is proposed to follow up this triumph next season by putting on the boards Berlioz's other opera, "Béatrice et Benedict," for which Bülow intends to do what Berlioz once did for Weber's "Freischütz" at Paris, by changing the spoken dialogue into recitative.

—These dramatic works, together with Rubinstein's "Maccabees" and "Nero," and Hoffmann's "Armin" and "Aennechen von Tharau," to which we alluded some time ago, promise to infuse fresh life into the stale repertory of foreign theatres. Still more important, from this point of view, is, of course, the fact that Wagner's "Ring des Nibelungen" has now been produced entire at Leipzig, Munich, Vienna, and Hamburg, and in part at Cologne, Weimar, Schwerin, and other cities. The Trilogy, as everybody knows, really consists of four parts, the scenic overture "Rheingold" counting as one part. We have reason to believe that at Vienna there are some folks who feel exceedingly sorry that it does not consist of five or six parts instead of four. These are Hanslick, Spitzer, and Speidel, the three gentlemen who control the literary department of the

leading Vienna newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*. They have eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the production of the successive parts of the Trilogy to launch forth venomous criticisms and quasi-sarcastic essays past counting, so that one feels inclined to wonder sometimes what these three popular writers would have done for a living if Wagner had never been born. Ungrateful are the wasps which persist in pronouncing as bad the pear on which they feed and grow big! They will, doubtless, swarm over to Berlin as soon as the Imperial Opera there decides on purchasing the right to perform the Trilogy, although at present there seems little prospect that this will soon happen. The director, Herr von Hülsen, wishes to have the "Walküre" alone, while Wagner stubbornly refuses that unless he take the whole work. Three reasons are assigned by Von Hülsen for not wishing to do so. The first is quite ingenious: "It would disturb the present repertory." No doubt. The second is less original, having been advanced before: "It would ruin the voices of the vocalists." If he means by this that it spoils them for singing in the Italian bravura style, we may admit this too. The third reason assigned is shamefully sophistical. Ignoring the unexceptional pecuniary and artistic success of the Trilogy wherever produced, he—or rather his organ, the Berlin *Fremdenblatt*—signals as a warning omen the fact that not long ago, at a town on the Rhine, Wagner's "Meistersinger" could not be performed one evening because only a handful of people had appeared in the auditorium. To this one might reply that a small town like Mainz has not the means of giving such a difficult work in proper style, when even in Berlin the performance of it, as of Wagner's operas in general, is far inferior to what it is in Munich and Leipzig. But it was likewise at Mainz, and about the same time, that just fourteen dollars' worth of tickets were sold one evening for Mozart's "Figaro," while a third-rate operetta had a run of twenty-six nights to crowded houses.

—Stratford-on-Avon celebrates the three hundred and fifteenth anniversary of the birth of Shakspeare by a series of entertainments, extending from Wednesday, April 23, to Saturday, May 3, in the Shakspeare Memorial Theatre. This is the only part of the Memorial building, projected at the Tercentenary Celebration in 1864, which is finished. The other parts—a picture gallery and library—it is hoped will be completed during the summer. The opening exercises consist of the recitation by Miss Kate Field of a dedicatory address written by Dr. Westland Marston, and the performance of "Much Ado about Nothing," Barry Sullivan taking the part of *Benedick*, and Mrs. Theodore Martin (Helen Faucit) that of *Beatrice*. On Thursday and Saturday "Hamlet" will be produced, Mr. Sullivan taking the title rôle. Friday evening will be devoted to a concert under the direction of Sir Julius Benedict, with Mme. Arabella Goddard, Miss Kate Field, Mme. Antoinette Sterling, Mr. W. Shakespeare, and Mr. Santley for the principal artists. During the following week "Much Ado" and "Hamlet" will be repeated, and "As You Like It" will be produced. The festival will close with a morning performance on May 3. The committee announce that "any funds that may be subscribed beyond the amount necessary to complete and maintain the building and garden will be applied to the annual celebration of Shakspeare's birthday, the advancement and improvement of the dramatic art by the establishment and maintenance of a school of acting, the delivery of lectures, the establishment of prizes for essays, and the relief and assistance of poor and deserving members of the theatrical profession."

—The second performance of a play after an interval of more than two centuries is certainly deserving of comment. The French theatrical managers make better use of their matinées than is done in this country: instead of always repeating the piece which they have played the night before, they often endeavor to give variety by reviving interesting old plays or by attempting promising new plays by young authors. At one of the theatres a series of revivals for one performance only of pieces of note in the history of French dramatic literature has been given, including the "Phèdre" of Pradon, which was opposed to the "Phèdre" of Racine; the "Pédant joué" of Cyrano de Bergerac, which is supposed to have given Molière a hint or two; and, lately, "Mirame," a tragedy in five acts, written, under the direction and inspiration of the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, either by Desmarests, to whom it is generally credited, or by Boisrobert, to whom M. Sarcy and M. Vitu attribute it. The Cardinal brought out "Mirame" with great splendor in 1639, spending more than four hundred thousand livres on decorations and machinery, and building especially for it in the Palais-Cardinal a theatre which was occupied by Molière after the Palais-Cardinal had become the Palais-Royal.

The play, which now to us seems absurd—most of the characters die in the fourth act and come to life again in the fifth—was not much, if any, worse than most other tragedies of that time. It was brought out during the height of Richelieu's power, before the assembled courtiers, all of whom would have been delighted to praise and applaud Richelieu's work, and yet it was performed amid a dead and oppressive silence, and has not been repeated until now. What was the cause of this failure, when there was apparently every reason for success? M. Auguste Vitu, the dramatic critic of the *Figaro*, prefaced the recent performance of "Mirame" with a brief lecture on the play, in which he solved this difficulty most happily. As was the fashion in those days, "Mirame," while decked in classic garb, was in reality a setting of contemporary history; it was an attack by Richelieu on the king's wife; its plot bore a transparent resemblance to the current scandalous stories about the intrigues of Anne of Austria and the Duke of Buckingham. M. Sarcy, in the *Temps*, points out another instance in which the circumstances of an ancient tragedy were at once applied to contemporaries: in the "Esther" of Racine everybody recognized Mme. de Montespan in *Vashti*. Other instances are not wanting: the "Bérénice," also by Racine, was a setting of the king's parting from a tender love for reasons of state.

GENERAL RICHARD TAYLOR'S REMINISCENCES.*

THIS book is both useful and mischievous: useful because every such contribution to the history of the time by an actor in it will be of more or less help in reaching just conclusions; and mischievous because the writer has used to the utmost his influence with the people of the Southern States to teach contempt for popular government, worship for aristocracy, whether of rank or of wealth, false notions of Northern society, dislike for all occupations except "planting," and a general belief that the triumph of the Government in the late war was the ruin of civilization on the continent. Southern youth need, of all things, practical business sense and a new idea of the dignity of labor in any honest employment; but this book will fool them to the top of their bent and strengthen all their most incorrect ideas. The author had the highest possible veneration and regard for gentlemen of colonial families and fine estates, and the poorest possible opinion of mechanics, shopkeepers, "scribbling attorneys," *et id genus omne*.

As a literary performance the book has necessarily a little of the appearance of patchwork; but this may not improperly be attributed to the ill-health of the writer, which has terminated in his death almost immediately upon the publication of his volume. The earlier chapters embody in substance two articles which appeared originally in the *North American Review*, and which were evidently finished with more effort at composition and a closer eye to effect than subsequent portions of the narrative. Indeed, one cannot help thinking that effect is so important in the writer's opinion that the story takes a color of uncertainty from this suspicion. The vein is rather too much that of 'Charles O'Malley' or 'Tom Burke of Ours' to be received as altogether veritable history. Stonewall Jackson is almost too constantly absorbed in silent prayer, and General Ewell's bird-like beak twitters quite too funnily, to leave a sense of harmony between the description and these men's soldierly deeds. This portion of the book is designed to tell the author's share in the campaign of Jackson against Banks and Fremont in 1862, and is followed by the history of his campaign in Louisiana in 1863-4, where he was again opposed to General Banks and defeated him at Sabine Cross Roads, or Mansfield. This latter part of the volume is the larger one, and is plainly its *raison d'être*. Departing from the connected-narrative style of the former part, it quotes largely from documents, from testimony given before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and from correspondence of Admiral Porter and others, in a painstaking but not altogether well-digested argument to prove the merit and the importance of that campaign, and that it was conducted by himself to a successful conclusion that might have been even more disastrous to the Union arms had Taylor not been trammelled and finally stopped short by an incompetent superior officer, General Kirby Smith, commanding the "Trans-Mississippi Department."

Besides these two principal topics the author introduces several digressions in the form of estimates of the character and ability of men prominent on either side, like Lee, Johnston, McClellan, Jackson, Grant, Bragg, etc. He closes with chapters upon reconstruction under Johnson and Grant. In these he gives himself full rein as the prophet of pessim-

* "Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War. By Richard Taylor, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 274.

ism. Our disbanded volunteer generals are described as "gorged with loot," which they spent "as lavishly as Morgan's buccaneers after the sack of Panama," while "their women sat at meat or walked the highways resplendent in jewels, spoil of Southern matrons"; yet, as if to prove the Pickwickian character of this tirade, General B. F. Butler, who has been to Southern imaginations the incarnation of all he has described, and the one of whom General Taylor had best means of knowledge because he was opposed to him in person in Louisiana, has received in chapter viii. a full acquittal of the charge of thus profiting by the spoils of war. Grant's nepotism, the *Crédit-Mobilier* investigation, the Beecher scandal, the Freedman's Bank failure, Sickles's appointment to the Spanish embassy, Schenck's to the English, are grouped in spasmodic style to prove "of the popular idols of the day that, unveiled, they resemble Mokanna, and can each exclaim :

"Here, judge if hell, with all its power to damn,
Can add one curse to the foul thing I am."

On the natural principle that worshippers are like their idols, we are told in conclusion that "the examples of thousands of pure and upright people in the North were as powerless to mitigate the general corruption as song of seraphim to purify the orgies of harlots and burglars; for they were not in harmony with the brutal passions of the masses."

In General Taylor's judgments concerning prominent soldiers of both sides the same lack of poise and absence of self-control is very apparent, and greatly diminishes the value of the estimate he gives us. He can see little good in men against whom he is prejudiced, and he is prejudiced against all Northern officers and some Southern ones. It becomes even amusing to note that none but those who have shown sympathy with the Democratic party can obtain even the cold and negative commendation of the author. It is, therefore, in regard to Southern officers only, and those who never swerved in their adhesion to the secession cause, that his opinions have any value. His sketches of Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, and of several subordinate officers of different grades are discriminating, and seem to catch the salient outlines of character in a way to give liveliness and vitality to the picture. His estimate of Hood appears to us to fail by overlooking the fact that the essential condition of his investment with command when Johnston was relieved at Atlanta, was that he should substitute an aggressive for the defensive policy which had been adopted up to that time. This change of policy was notoriously dictated from Richmond, and for it the Confederate Administration there must bear the full responsibility. Assuming that this was the basis of the orders Hood received from Jefferson Davis, we question whether there was a general in the Confederate Army after Stonewall Jackson's death who could have shown more activity, audacity, or skill. If General Taylor had been put in command of Hood's army, as he apparently expected to be, in the fall of 1864, and had acted in accordance with the views expressed in his criticism of Hood, he would neither have troubled Sherman on his march to the sea, nor Thomas in his campaign in the central Southern States. In this respect his strictures on Hood are a weak apology, after the fact, for the blunder of the Davis Administration in relieving Johnston.

Of the two historical episodes in the book, the story of the campaign of 1862 in the valley of Virginia is the briefer, and is full of sprightliness and local color. It graphically indicates the way in which Jackson made Massanutten mountain the key of his clever strategy, and shows in the writer a good eye for the beauties of nature as well as for the strategic value of a position.

Upon the Louisiana Campaign of 1864 General Taylor sheds a good deal of light. He shows that the forces under his command were habitually exaggerated in the reports received by Banks and other Union commanders, and although he evidently regarded the organization of the Trans-Mississippi Department under Kirby Smith as unnecessarily trammelling himself and reducing him to a subordinate position, he gives us pretty good evidence that it had the effect of imposing upon the Federal officers by making them assume that there were rebel forces adequate to the high-sounding names of corps and divisions under a department command. He virtually declares Smith to have been a pompous incompetent, who organized complicated staff-bureaus at Shreveport, of which the only effect was to make unnecessary details of officers and men for staff-duty, to the weakening of the force in the field. Taylor himself was left to do all the fighting, and he does not hesitate to claim all the merit there was in the defeat of Bank's Red River Expedition, insisting that Smith's only part in that affair was to call off the troops at the moment when a more decisive victory was within their grasp. Whilst the

condemnation of Kirby Smith seems in the main to be supported by good evidence, it is not so clear that Taylor would have accomplished what he expected if he had been allowed to have his own way. He had struck Banks's columns when they were greatly extended. An advance guard of a division of cavalry with two brigades of infantry had been routed, and a division of infantry sent to their support had been roughly handled at Sabine Cross-Roads. The cavalry train and much artillery had been captured as it became blocked in the single-track forest road. But Taylor admits that he was repulsed at Pleasant Hill as he attempted to follow up his advantage on the succeeding day, and when our forces were thus concentrated they were superior to him in numbers, and on any field where they could have delivered battle with *ensemble* their well-known fighting qualities were such that it is risking nothing to say they would have defeated him easily. The men who had fought at Vicksburg and Port Hudson could take a drubbing such as part of the command had received, and have stomach for hard fighting afterward. But again, Taylor's own story is wholly inconsistent with the pretence of a purpose to push the fighting on the 10th of April. On the preceding evening he had retreated seven miles. He calls it withdrawing for the purpose of getting to water. That was what Banks also said of his retreat to Grand Ecore. He also admits that portions of his command, notably Churchill's division, had become demoralized by being routed, and that Churchill was discouraged. With these facts in mind, no man of military experience will believe that he would have marched his command back on the morning of the 10th over the seven miles they had covered with their retreat after dark of the preceding day; or that the troops would have been in condition to give battle if he had done so. The truth is, as his narration shows, that he had enough of it at Pleasant Hill, and that when Banks continued his retrograde march to Grand Ecore, it was a godsend to his adversary, who sent the cavalry in pursuit and raised the shout of victory. Nor does Kirby Smith appear to have been altogether foolish, as Taylor maintains, in his next step. Gen. Steele was approaching with a Federal column from Arkansas; Banks was kept under the impression that Taylor with undiminished forces was still after him, whilst Kirby Smith withdrew the larger part of the infantry and himself led them, rumor exaggerating them into a new army not yet engaged, against Steele, who, on hearing of Banks's disaster, also retreated. If Taylor had no greater proof of Smith's incompetency than this he will hardly escape a judgment of jealous misrepresentation. The current reports of our officers showed that information came to them from Confederate sources to the effect that Taylor was relieved for insubordination and for attacking at Pleasant Hill without orders. The circumstances all tend to show that there was some foundation for this, and that Taylor's immediate commander, at least, did not treat that matter as a victory, however public policy might make the Confederates claim it as such. Taylor tells us that he was relieved at his own request, which no doubt was so in form, and is not inconsistent with the view we have taken. The failure of Banks's expedition made the campaign a successful one on the side of the Confederates, and Taylor's feelings were subsequently soothed by promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general, a grade equivalent to corps-commander with us, and by assignment to an undefined command in Alabama.

There is nothing in the history of the Red River Expedition that is very pleasant for Northern men to reflect upon. It is plain as day that neither Halleck, Grant, Sherman and Admiral Porter, nor Franklin, Smith, and probably other subordinates of Banks, had confidence in him. When Grant became lieutenant-general in command of all our armies, he said, in a despatch to Halleck, that for nine months he had had no confidence in Banks's capacity. Sherman showed the same feeling by insisting that he only "loaned" A. J. Smith's corps to Banks for thirty days, and in directing the latter to confer confidentially with Admiral Porter, as next friend to the Army of the Tennessee. Porter, in his letters to the Navy Department, charged Banks with utter incapacity. Franklin testified that he had no confidence in Banks's ability to handle troops. It is not hard to see that under such circumstances Banks was little less than foredoomed to failure. Nothing but extraordinary exhibition of energy and capacity as a commander could have given him the necessary grasp of his army, and no such miracle occurred. He put Franklin in command of the whole moving column on leaving Alexandria, but without well-defined responsibility. He went personally to the front when the cavalry became hotly engaged with the enemy, and ordered up infantry supports, although Franklin was of opinion that the cavalry should fall back, if overpowered, and let the infantry form on some near line, rather than crowd to the front in detachments, to be beaten in de-

tail. He attributed the disaster to the position of the cavalry baggage-train in front of the infantry, but he had given no orders respecting that train when he passed it on the road and knew that the cavalry was hotly engaged in advance. He neither took actual, efficient command of such sort as to control the order of march, as well as other important details, nor did he leave full responsibility with others. He assumed that the enemy were twice as numerous as they were, and accepted the moral conditions of defeat when less than half his force had fought at any one time. The army and navy forces were jealous of each other because, among other things, the navy claimed the right to make prize of cotton collected miles away from the gunboats. There was no common head, as there ought always to be in a combined military and naval movement. Political purposes of reconstruction were mixed up with proper military objects. In short, every conceivable circumstance that could ensure disaster was present in full force, and made a failure for the whole expedition out of what had no need to be more than a momentary check. For the military defeat Banks, as the commander on the field, cannot avoid responsibility. His attempt to shift it upon Franklin was wrong, though the latter's confessed lack of faith in his commander was fatal to the energetic and devoted support which alone could have retrieved affairs. But a large share of the blame must still rest with the Administration at Washington, which urged the expedition without attending to the only conditions of unity of command and of compact organization.

It is in this regard, as throwing new light on the history of that ill-starred expedition, that General Taylor's reminiscences will have permanent value. Had his narrative been modest throughout and free from gross extravagances of various sorts, we should give greater weight to the evidence which goes to show that his own part in the campaigns he describes indicated a high order of military ability. He, however, claims so much and so sweepingly that most readers will make considerable deductions from his own estimate of his exploits, whilst admitting that the facts, as far as corroborated, put him in the rank of vigorous and intelligent commanders of the second rank.

DOBELL'S LIFE AND LETTERS.*

IT was no fault of Sydney Dobell that the disparity between the excellence of his rare natural gifts and the meagreness of their literary result is so great, for the difficulties which beset him made partial failure inevitable. The disastrous nature of his early education has seldom been paralleled in the records of blighted genius, and in manhood, when he had emancipated himself from it to some degree, successive misfortunes struck down and maimed his powers. His parents were members of a Church which had been founded by his mother's father, a free-thinking Christian of the last century, to bring about a return to the apostolic practice, and was thought by them to be the germ of a great religious reform. They believed that Sydney, their first-born, was the chosen instrument of God for this work. The child was precocious in mind and endowed with all the susceptibility to emotion which belongs to the poetic temperament. Every new sign of intellectual strength or religious fervor was to his parents a fresh proof of the boy's divine calling, and their injudicious zeal stimulated a development which would have been abnormally rapid under the best care. His mission was instilled into his thoughts when he was four years old; at eight years his diary is filled with theology and his waste-paper with verses; at ten he falls in love; at twelve, enters his father's office and begins a life of business routine; at fourteen he is prostrated with nervous fever; at fifteen, is engaged to be married, and considering the publication of a drama on Napoleon which he had written and Campbell had read; at seventeen, we read of long-continued and exhausting prayer; eloquent church oratory follows; at twenty he is married; at twenty-three the blow falls, and he is prostrated with a nearly fatal disease which left him a man of broken health. The history of these years is given scantily in these volumes, but there are many indications of their unnatural life; his father says, for example, that in his delirium, when the sense of locality and the memory of faces were lost, he talked rationally on moral and reflective subjects; and his wife says of their courtship, in a remark of blended humor and pathos, "the more we loved, the more we prayed." He himself gives the clearest glimpse of the nervous intoxication of his boyhood in a letter to his sister, where he says, "I shall not cease to look back on the four or five years preceding my illness with a kind of self-reverence—as to an impossible saintdom to which

I would not return, but which I can never equal on this side the grave. I see that I have a wider mission and a rougher excellence before me; but I cannot look back without a melancholy interest to the years when I never thought a thought or said a word but under the very eyes of God." Such experience necessarily left indelible traces: the practical result of his education was a physical blow, and it is easy to observe in his letters after this time symptoms of lingering disease, as when he speaks of having a double consciousness of locality, or of being seized by spontaneous trains of thought of unusual brilliance, but which he cannot recollect on coming out of this state.

With such a mind and body he began his literary career, against the remonstrance of his parents, who still believed in his apostolic mission. He published two dramas which have passed into literature, and a volume of war-lyrics. He was contemplating an epic on the millennium which should be his crowning work, and seems to have looked for no activity in other fields than literature. But ten years of writing, study, and business, added to the constant and wearying care of an invalid wife, overcame his shaken constitution, and at thirty-three a second illness practically put an end to his career. The two invalids tried all climates with little success; accident followed accident; he fell into a Roman drain and injured his spine, another fall from his horse nearly proved fatal; relapse followed relapse until after seventeen years, "wherein," he says, "the keen perception of all that should be done, and that so bitterly cries for doing, accompanies the consciousness of all I might but cannot do," he died in 1874.

Such warping and blighting influences made Sydney Dobell's public service fall so far short of his extraordinary capacities as to amount practically to failure. His senses were abnormally acute, like those of a savage, and this made his appreciation of natural loveliness remarkably keen; his powers of imagination and sympathy and his super-subtle reflective faculty completed his poetic endowment. The bent of his mind, the surcharging of his soul with religious emotion and mystical feeling, led him sometimes into that region of dreamy poetic conjecture with which readers of the transcendentalists are familiar, where the object, too vague for thought, is grasped at through symbols, and the qualities of the symbol extended fancifully to the unknown object. This, for example, reads like an excerpt from Novalis: "What if the visible universe stand in the relation to the Divine of the brain to the human soul; humanity upon its surface answering to the cineritious matter; these past six thousand years a passing illness of the Eternal Nature, and its scheme of salvation and ultimate golden issue a process of Divine physiology?" It is not often that he gets so far off his feet as in this passage. Here is one, of mystical suggestion, which in a letter to Charlotte Brontë he says was struck out of an article by the sapient editor of the *Eclectic*: "Yea, O divine earth! O incommunicable beauty! wearing thy crown of thorns and having on the purple robes of immemorial sunsets, we have parted thy garments among us, and for thy vesture have we cast lots"; and he is led to this *O altitudo!* because he has thrown down his pen "helpless before this unapproachable world," and the unapproachable world was merely apple-trees in blossom—"the very Avalon of apple-trees, that makes an awful rose of dawn toward the east." Such was the fervor and intensity of his poetic moods. On more prosaic ground he could be sensible enough, but his prejudices were sometimes very curious. "Aurora Leigh" he thought no poem because written by a woman, and he held "all feminine literature to be an error and an anomaly." To a sister he writes: "The passion for writing, especially among ladies, is the mental and spiritual nuisance of this age. What the young people of the day want to learn is that authorship, unless it be of the very best—the best and most competent minds expressed in the very best ways—is worse than useless"; and again, to resist "a temptation which bids fair to stain with ink the sweetest sanctuaries of life, and taint with the inevitable evils of every unnatural and abnormal gratification three-fourths of the women of England." Toward the theory of woman's rights and the theory of the equality of men he was extremely hostile; but in politics, in which he interested himself much, he was in enthusiastic sympathy with the Liberals. We read with wicked pleasure the letter in which he says he spent an hour walking in his garden, and repeating "the damnation of hell" after hearing that Mazzini was entrapped in Nuremberg, and with amusement the account of how Victor Emmanuel lost a present of one of the poet's dogs because he imprisoned Garibaldi. It will be seen that he had many interests—a man of business all his life as well as a poet and orator, a liberal as well as an aristocrat, the broadest of Broad Churchmen as well as an earnest Christian, a lover of horses and dogs, used to the saddle, the gun, and the rod; he was the most affable as

* The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell. Edited by E. J. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1878.

well as the most merciless of critics, and he was the dearest of friends. Various developed in these and many other directions, he saved much from the wreck; his private life evinces throughout a refined and noble character. He was a gentleman of the highest type, who made the most valuable acquisitions in life and shared them as widely as he could, who united grace of action in doing a thing to "the beauty of reason or feeling that causes it to be done"; he used to say, "To do the useful is the tenure by which we hold this world, to have done it beautifully the condition of our transit to a better," and called attention repeatedly to "that moral truth still older than formularized religion—that relation between the charitable heart and the idealizing eye, which the earliest Greeks unconsciously asserted when they entitled the Graces the Charities." To see how these principles found harmonious expression in a daily life of such pain and disappointment mitigates the sense of wasteful loss which these volumes arouse; his poetry is unwrought ore, his published prose stray leaves of thought, but in himself it is not too much to say he came near to his own conception of the poet's ideal life: "Thou wert the courtest knight that ever bore shield; thou wert the truest friend that ever bestrode horse; thou wert the truest lover that ever loved woman; thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights; thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall with ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever laid lance in rest."

RECENT NOVELS.*

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Dr. MacDonald's new story is, to use a Scotch word, full of eeriness; nor, by this, do we mean to put ourselves among those who, the author says with some contempt, will declare his tale unnatural, for it is within nature, but nature at that point of extreme tenuity where it vanishes into the supernatural. In saying this we have in mind only Sir Gibbie himself, for the other characters are framed of the crudest Scotch earth. Sir Gibbie is a dumb child of a drunken father, bred in the streets, neglected, but with an irresistible instinct to be serviceable to every one; at first, he guides his father home at night by gyrating round him so that he cannot fall, and pushing him so that he must go on. After his father's death he watches the streets to do the accustomed service for any who may be in need of it, until the murder of a negro sailor before his eyes drives him from the city to the country, where he finds the most extraordinary opportunities for his gifts; is believed to be at first a "brownie," then a "beast-boy"; lives on a mountain with an old couple whose sheep he tends; performs the most difficult feats in saving the lives of animals, children, and men, during a great flood, which is described with great force and distinctness, until finally he becomes heir to a fortune and is married. Dr. MacDonald uses this child-creation, for he does not seem a day older at twenty-one than at six, as an example of instinctive love for all living creatures which finds joy only in service and looks for no return. This is the inevitable moral element in the novel, but for all that the treatment of the incidents and of nature is imaginative often in a high degree; and if one tires of the garrulity of some of the characters, and at times of the preacher's discourse itself, there is much more than enough in the tale to make it interesting to those who look only for pleasure, while the moralizing public could not have more wholesome food.

* "The Disturbing Element; or, Chronicles of the Blue Bell Society." By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
"Sir Gibbie: A Novel." By George MacDonald, LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

In a recent article on novel-reading in the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Trollope has pointed out that the novel fills, in a great measure, in the education of modern youth, the place held in a different age by poetry. Novels are as a rule written for the young, and from their pages most young men and women get their first picture of life; they supply the gorgeous scenery, the heroic characters, and the thrilling events of those day-dreams on which the fancy of youth dwells, and so furnish unconsciously its ideals for future life. With regard to love and marriage, for instance, it would not be too much to say that novels are the sources from which, in early life, long before we can know anything about the matter from actual experience, we derive some of our most deeply-rooted preconceptions. Most people in mature life can look back upon some one or two novels which suggested to them new objects of existence, a clearer insight into the poetry of life. It is unnecessary to say, by the way, that this applies only to English novels, and not to the fiction produced by the lively Gaul, who seldom unites the functions of saga-man and novelist in one person, and who draws pictures of love and life and marriage which are the reverse of improving. But the truth of Mr. Trollope's observation, applied to the English novel, is as undeniable as is the fact that Mr. Trollope is one of the last persons whom we should suspect from his own novel-writing of being much impressed with it. We admit a great liking for his novels. They are all true to life as most of us know it. His young men are good, and his old men are no less good, while his young women are charming. His pictures of modern English life are recognized as photographically true, though more interesting than photographs. Yet Mr. Trollope can hardly hope to be remembered as a novelist who has discharged the duties of the poet. There is nothing in his stories which invests life or love or marriage with a romantic or heroic interest. On the contrary, they represent those matters exactly as they are or may be every day in the year. But Mr. Trollope, though no poet, is beginning, if we are not mistaken, to show signs of a desire to assume another function which he also considers to be proper to the writer of fiction—that of the preacher. In "The Way We Live Now" he read the London public a savage sermon upon modern manners; in "An Eye for an Eye" we have a tale showing the evil consequences of weakness of character.

This, at least, is the only moral that we can extract from the story, which is not altogether a pleasant one, turning, as it does, upon the base behavior of the son of an English earl to a pretty young Irish girl, her ruin, his desertion, his murder by her mother, and the consequent confinement of the latter in a private asylum in the west of England, where the unfortunate woman is still repeating from morning till night, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Is it not the law?" The story is a painful one; for the weakness of the young man in refusing to marry Miss O'Hara is not made tragic but simply weak, while the repulsiveness of her disreputable father is made so glaring that the reader is at times left in doubt whether a marriage is not as entirely out of the question as the young man feels it to be himself. It is needless to say that all the story is well told. Mr. Trollope has the art of narration to perfection; while his characters—though none of them, as characters, fix themselves in our minds—all do their duty in the story as they are called upon to do it. We do not remember them, perhaps, as living men and women in the way that we remember the characters of Thackeray or Dickens. They are types, and true types, without being highly individualized. They have invariably the external form and appearance and manners and behavior of the class from which they are taken. His earls are always real earls, just as his bishops and vicars are always real bishops and vicars. The same thing is true of his women. If there is nothing more, we ask for nothing more. No one ever accused him of putting real people into his books, and the reason is very plain: the life and soul of reality in character—in other words, individuality—is wanting. The characters do not of themselves develop the story; they are used by the novelist to tell the story with. In his English characters this is more concealed; but when he takes a foreigner, like the American senator or the priest in "An Eye for an Eye," we feel at once that we are in the presence of a novelist's puppet rather than a real human being. This can hardly be set down, however, as a peculiarity of Mr. Trollope's. It is the peculiarity of one or two great novelists in a century that they are able to do something which he cannot.

"Quaker Cousins" is a pleasant, readable story, which gives the history of an orphan girl and boy left by their devout Quaker mother to the care of almost unknown cousins. The prosperity, the ill-doing, and the

"An Eye for an Eye: A Novel." By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879. (Franklin Square Library.)
"Quaker Cousins." By Agnes Macdonell, author of "For the King's Dues," "Martin's Vineyard," etc. New York: Harper & Bros. (Franklin Square Library.)

downfall of these cousins, and the steady rectitude and disinterested fidelity of the cheated wards, make the story. If Mrs. Macdonell were a débutante in authorship we should consider the many *motifs* of the story, some of which are never developed, as the mark of inexperience, but perhaps it is a sign of a fertile fancy, and she is certainly a good storyteller. The visit of the three "Friends" to enquire after the lambs once of their flock is decidedly dramatic and promises much, but nothing comes of it, and the wrongs of the children get no redress. Mrs. Burton, we think, is rather a favorite of the author, who describes with much care her muffled worldliness, her shallow content, and eternal striving for her own ends. Our favorite in the book is rather Mr. Forbes-Stokes, who, cheated into marrying an unloving beauty, gradually and painfully rectifies his lot by sheer nobility of nature. The opening of the story, which describes the life and household and the death of Susan Marsland, is very good indeed, and we wish there were more of the Quaker element in the book.

We should recommend the author of 'Lord Strahan' to learn to write the English language before publishing another book. After that it will be in order to consider peculiarities of style and plot. We give a few flowers of rhetoric selected from the first ten pages: "a lingering refrain of horn, spasmodic with distance"; "past villages snowed on either hand, with hills behind shadowed all askew by the flags of the forts sheeting thin to the breeze"; "now the water fluffly with sail has been left behind; the sand-absorbing dusk long astern."

There seems an unlimited demand for novels of the class of 'Castle Hohenwald,' and there is certainly an ample supply. The types in these German stories are oddly old-fashioned; the villain, the lover, the eccentric man, the traitor are wrought by a fixed pattern which has been

'Lord Strahan: A Novel. By Mrs. Wildrick.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
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